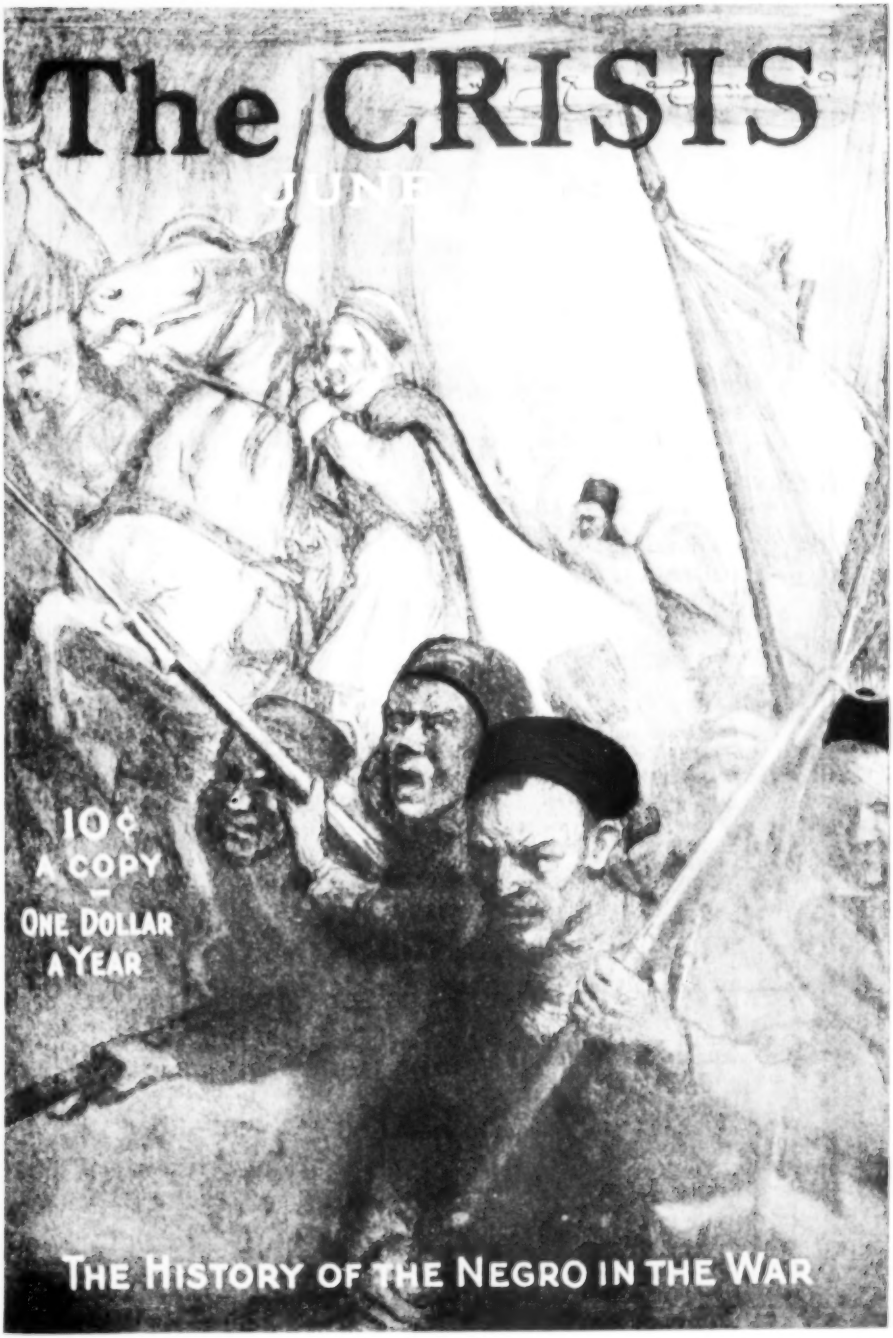
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Date....., 1919.

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DOUBLE WAR HISTORY NUMBER — EDITION 105,000

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER

Vol. 18—No. 2 JUNE, 1919 Whole No. 104

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THE JULY CRISIS

The July CRISIS will be our Annual Education Number. We want pictures of Colored *College* graduates.

The August CRISIS will be Cleveland Conference Number.

The September CRISIS will be Labor Number.

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NOTE—We are already enrolling Summer Students and would advise all who desire to take Special Summer Course to send in application AT ONCE as places will be at a premium.

(Educational Institutions Continued on page 106)

THE CRISIS

Vol. 18 No. 2 JUNE, 1919 Whole No. 104

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

TEN years ago, in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded when a hundred persons on Lincoln's birthday sent forth a ringing call to the nation to finish the work which the great Emancipator began. Through great vissisitudes this organization has grown and strengthened until today with a paid-up membership of over 50,000, a national organ of 100,000 circulation, it stands without peer, the greatest fighting force for Negro freedom in the world. Slowly but surely it is attacking every evil, every disability, every insult from which we suffer. The Negro who is not a member of it finds himself on the defensive. The white man who does not believe in it does not believe in American democracy.

This is the organization which in the week from June 22-29 will celebrate its tenth birthday in Cleveland, Ohio. This ought to be in point of attendance, earnestness and effectiveness the greatest Emancipation convention this land has known. Not only should every branch of the N. A. A. C. P. be fully represented, but every state and locality should send its delegates. White and black, young and old, Northerner and Southerner, should unite at Cleveland to say: It is enough. We have waited fifty years. The Negro must and shall be free and the N. A. A. C. P. must do it.

LYNCHING

ONE hundred and nineteen of the most distinguished citizens of the United States —white and black, Northerners and Southerners, governors, statesmen, judges, college presidents, congressmen, ministers, reformers, authors, men and women—united recently in a call for an Anti-Lynching Conference which said:

"It is time that we should wake to the need of action, and that public opinion, irresistible when aroused, should be enlisted against this barbarism in our midst."

The result was a series of meetings in New York—two great mass meetings and two conferences. The occasion was epochmaking. It was a step toward civilization comparable only to the abolition conventions. Lynching must go and the convention thus called by the N. A. A. C. P. is the beginning of the end.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR

THIS issue of THE CRISIS contains a History of the Negro in the Great War. It is incomplete and has, doubtless, many minor mistakes; but it is the best possible at present. Later this sketch will be expanded into a volume. Among those who will assist in the writing and arranging of that volume will be Colonel Charles Young; Mr. E. C. Williams of Howard University; Benjamin Brawley of Morehouse College; Major Patterson and nearly all of the colored

officers of the 92nd Division; Colonel Duncan and many officers of the 93rd Division; John Hope and Mesdames Hunton and Curtis of the Y. M. C. A.; and Dr. George E. Haynes of the U. S. Department of Labor.

It is expected that the volume will be written and published, with illustrations, by October 1. It will be sold at the most reasonable price possible. The N. A. A. C. P. and THE CRISIS are raising a fund to pay for its publication and to this fund all friends of the truth are asked to contribute.

I. W. W.

AN editorial in the Easter CRISIS (written during the Editor's absence) has been misunderstood and was, perhaps, itself partially misleading.

Mr. F. H. M. Murray of Washington, D. C., writes us:

> In a recent editorial in your magazine the statement is made that there are no Negroes among the Industrial Workers of the World. While I am certain that the statement is erroneous, I am not at this moment able to lay my hands on anything in print to confirm my denial, except the following from an article in last Sunday's New York *Call* magazine, by David Karsner, who reported the trial of the big batch of members of the I. W. W. in Chicago last summer and later the trial of the five Socialists at the same place. He is writing about Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, who presided at both trials and who imposed upon the hundred or so I. W. W., who were convicted, and the five Socialists, sentences aggregating over nine hundred years in prison and fines aggregating over two millions of dollars. Mr. Karsner says:
>
> "There was only one defendant among the I. W. W., to my knowledge, who refused to believe in Judge Landis [during the trial]. He was Ben Fletcher, the sole Negro defendant. One day in the corridor I asked Ben what he thought of Judge Landis. Ben smiled broadly, 'He's a fakir. Wait until he gets a chance; then he'll plaster it on thick.' Ben was a sure-thing prophet, for the Judge plastered him with ten years, and his counsel said with not enough evidence to invite a reprimand."
>
> So it turns out that not only are there Negroes who are members of this militant workingmen's organization, but some—or at least one—prominent enough to be regarded as worth putting behind the bars with the leaders—Haywood, Fanning and others.
>
> I think that in the interest of the truth of history and for the honor of the black workers, you should correct the statement to which I refer.
>
> I say "honor," for even if we regard the I. W. W. as visionaries (John Brown, you know, was a "visionary") however mistaken are their methods, if their methods are as generally set forth (which I do not believe) the success of the cause for which they are struggling and sacrificing and suffering should be particularly dear to our people, since in no other race or element of our population is there a larger percentage of workers; albeit, too many—what a pity!—are obliged to work in a menial, that is, a parasitic capacity.

THE CRISIS did not say or intend to say that no Negroes belonged to the Industrial Workers of the World, nor did it intend to condemn that organization. On the contrary, we respect it as one of the social and political movements in modern times that draws no color line. We sought to say that we do not believe that the *methods* of the I. W. W. are today feasible or advisable. And too we believe the Socialist Party wrong in its attitude toward the war, but we raise our hats silently to men like Eugene Debs who let not even the shadow of public shame close their lips when they think themselves right.

We believe that the crushing of the monstrous pretentions of the military caste of Germany was a duty so pressing and tremendous that it called for the efforts of every thoughtful American. But we recognize that some people did not agree with us and these folk we honor for their honesty, even though we question their reasoning.

It is no credit to American Negroes if they had NO "Conscientious Objectors." It is tremendously to their credit that the vast majority of them thought straight and fought true in a mighty world crisis.

ROOSEVELT

MAJOR SPINGARN has sent the following telegram to Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Chairman of the First National Convention of the American Legion, an organiza-

tion which is intended to include all soldiers and sailors who served in the war:

Newspapers report that the exclusion of colored soldiers from the American Legion is being considered. If the Legion is to be a national organization of all those who served in the war, the exclusion of hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers who gave devoted service to the greatest of causes is unthinkable. As a delegate to the national caucus from New York State, unable to be present on account of unforeseen circumstances, I protest against this injustice.

DESCENT INTO HELL

READ these three proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

By Senator Jones of *Washington*:

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Section 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

By Senator Jones of *New Mexico*:

"Section 1. That the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by and state on account of sex.

"Section 2. The several states shall have the authority to enforce this article by necessary legislation, but if any state shall enforce or enact any law in conflict therewith, then Congress shall not be excluded from enacting appropriate legislation to enforce it."

By Senator Gay of *Louisiana*:

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Section 2. The several states shall have the exclusive right to enact appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article."

We regret to say that some suffrage leaders agreed to accept even the Gay Amendment, which, of course, meant Negro disfranchisement. In the next Congress these Suffragists will bear strict watching.

THE TREATY

IT is a hard, bitter penalty that the Allies have drafted to fit a hard, cruel crime. We of the darker world greet Poland, dead so long as to be almost forgotten; we greet the Slav States and Armenia; Arabia, where our blood mingles; and the half-redeemed colonies of Africa. We send our sympathy to raped Belgium, saying simply: "Forget not the crime in Congo, and the 30,000 black coals of fire heaped on your head." We deplore the selfishness of Italy and hold up hands of hope toward the Nation of Nations. And as for William II, late German Emperor—was it a Frenchman who suggested that his punishment be condemnation to live in America as a Negro all the days of his remaining life? But no—not that. Senseless cruelty ill befits those who make the world safe for Democracy.

HYSTERIA

THESE are the facts so far as known: In 1915 Herman M. B. Moens visited the Editor of THE CRISIS and others and expressed his interest in a scientific study of the race problem. He was vouched for by the Dutch Minister and friends and Dr. Du Bois gave him letters to Professor Miller of Howard and Mr. L. M. Hershaw. Others introduced him to prominent white people in Washington and he was received by the Smithsonian Institution, the Board of Education and put up at the exclusive Cosmos Club.

Mr. Moens made many acquaintances and seemed universally liked.

In 1917 he was arrested and accused of being a German spy. He was acquitted. In 1918 he was again suspected of espionage, but when arrested, he was accused of exhibiting to some friends bust photographs of eight females. He was convicted of a misdemeanor and sentenced to one year in prison and a fine. He immediately appealed the case.

As a result of the above facts, there arose in colored Washington an astonishing turmoil. Rumor had large numbers of decent persons implicated in a terrible scandal. Gossip bandied names, dates and places; the whole school system was accused of unspeakable things until the District Attorney declared that the name of but one teacher was involved. This teacher, who had hitherto borne an unspotted reputation, was forced to resign, although not a single discreditable fact was proven against her. Mass meetings of five and six thousand people were held and bitter charges flung. The city, in other words, went wild with hysteria, resentment and rumor and then as suddenly settled into dumb calm.

The moral is obvious: Unbridled license in imagination and criminal gossip will do more harm to us in one minute than any white man, be he charlatan, spy or honest scientist, can do in years.

EGYPT AND INDIA

THE sympathy of Black America must of necessity go out to colored India and colored Egypt. Their forefathers were ancient friends, cousins, blood-brothers, in the hoary ages of antiquity. The blood of yellow and white hordes has diluted the ancient black blood of India, but her eldest Buddha still sits black, with kinky hair; the Negro who laid the founding stones of Egypt and furnished some of her mightiest thinkers, builders and leaders has mingled his blood with the invader on so vast a scale that the modern Egyptian mulatto hardly remembers his descent. But we are all one—we the Despised and Oppressed, the "niggers" of England and America.

We of America fight the great fight of Peace—we agitate, we petition, we expose, we plead, we argue. It is a long, slow, humiliating path, but for us War, Force, Revolution are impossible, unthinkable. For anybody the costs of bloody uprising are so vast and uncounted that they must bring pause to the wildest. Yet, who can judge others? Who sitting in America can say that Revolution is never right on the Ganges or the Nile? Who of us who suffer can judge how unbearable is the suffering of unknown friends? We bow our heads and close our aching ears. Only our hearts pray that Right may triumph and Justice and Pity over brute Force and Organized Theft and Race Prejudice, from San Francisco to Calcutta and from Cairo to New York.

THE TERCENTENARY

THE absence of Dr. Du Bois in Europe for four months disarranged the plans for the Tercentenary commemoration of the landing of the Negro, and necessitated some changes. We can now announce, however, that the celebration will take place beginning August 1, 1919—300 years after *"a Dutchman of Warre sold us twenty Negroes."*

The commemoration will be in three parts:

1. A National Day of Fasting and Prayer.

2. A Great Pageant of Negro History.

3. Widespread local celebrations.

We shall publish further details in the July CRISIS.

AN ESSAY TOWARD A HISTORY OF THE BLACK MAN IN THE GREAT WAR

By W. E. Burghardt DuBois

FOREWORD

THE mayor of Domfront stood in the village inn, high on the hill that hovers green in the blue sky of Normandy; and he sang as we sang: *"Allons, enfants de la patrie!"* God! How we sang! How the low, grey-clouded room rang with the strong voice of the little Frenchman in the corner, swinging his arms in deep emotion; with the vibrant voices of a score of black American officers who sat round about. Their hearts were swelling—torn in sunder. Never have I seen black folk—and I have seen many—so bitter and disillusioned at the seemingly bottomless depths of American color hatred—so uplifted at the vision of real democracy dawning on them in France.

The mayor apologized gravely: if he had known of my coming, he would have received me formally at the Hotel de Ville—me whom most of my fellow-countrymen receive at naught but back doors, save with apology. But how could I explain in Domfront, that reborn feudal town of ancient memories? I could not—I did not. But I sang the Marseillaise—*"Le jour de gloire est arrivé!"*

Arrived to the world and to ever widening circles of men—but not yet to us. Up yonder hill, transported bodily from America, sits "Jim-Crow"—in a hotel for white officers only; in a Massachusetts Colonel who frankly hates "niggers" and segregates them at every opportunity; in the General from Georgia who openly and officially stigmatizes his black officers as no gentlemen by ordering them never to speak to French women in public or receive the spontaneously offered social recognition. All this ancient and American race hatred and insult in a purling sea of French sympathy and kindliness, of human uplift and giant endeavor, amid the mightiest crusade humanity ever saw for Justice!

" Contre nous de la tyrannie,
L'etendard sanglant est levé."

This, then, is a first attempt at the story of the Hell which war in the fateful years of 1914–1919 meant to Black Folk, and particularly to American Negroes. It is only an attempt, full of the mistakes which nearness to the scene and many necessarily missing facts, such as only time can supply, combine to foil in part. And yet, written now in the heat of strong memories and in the place of skulls, it contains truth which cold delay can never alter or bring back. Later, in the light of official reports and supplementary information and with a corps of co-workers, consisting of officers and soldiers and scholars, I shall revise and expand this story into a volume for popular reading; and still later, with the passing of years, I hope to lay before historians and sociologists the documents and statistics upon which my final views are based.

SENEGALESE AND OTHERS

TO everyone war is, and, thank God, must be, disillusion. This war has disillusioned millions of fighting white men—disillusioned them with its frank truth of dirt, disease, cold, wet and discomfort; murder, maiming and hatred. But the disillusion of Negro American troops was more than this, or rather it was this and more—the flat, frank realization that however high the ideals of America or however noble her tasks, her great duty as conceived by an astonishing number of able men, brave and good, as well as of other sorts of men, is to hate "niggers."

Not that this double disillusion has for a moment made black men doubt the wisdom of their wholehearted help of the Allies. Given the chance again, they would again do their duty—for have they not seen and known France? But these young men see today with opened eyes and strained faces the true and hateful visage of the Negro problem in America.

When the German host—grey, grim, irresistible, poured through Belgium, out of Africa France called her sons; they came; 280,000 black Senegalese, first and last—volunteers, not drafted; they hurled the Boches back across the Ourcq and the Marne on a ghastly bridge of their own dead. It was the crisis—four long, bitter years the war wore on; but Germany was beaten at the first battle of the Marne, and by Negroes. Beside the Belgians, too, stood, first and last, 30,000 black Congolese, not to mention the 20,000 black English West Indians who fought in the East and the thousands of black troops who conquered German Africa.

STEVEDORES

BUT the story of stories is that of the American Negro. Here was a man who bravely let his head go where his heart at first could not follow, who for the first time as a nation within a nation did his bitter duty because it was his duty, knowing what might be expected, but scarcely foreseeing the whole truth.

LT. BAKANE DIOP, A CHIEF OF THE SENEGALESE AND CHEVALIER OF THE LEGION OF HONOR.

We gained the right to fight for civilization at the cost of being "Jim-Crowed" and insulted; we were segregated in the draft; we were segregated in the first officers' training camp; and we were allowed to volunteer only as servants in the Navy and as common laborers in the Army, outside of the four regular Negro regiments. The Army wanted stevedores, road builders, wood choppers, railroad hands, etc., and American Negroes were among the first to volunteer. Of the 200,000 Negroes in the American Expeditionary Force, approximately 150,000 were stevedores and laborers, doing the hardest work under, in some cases, the most trying conditions faced by any soldiers during the war. And it is the verdict of men who know that the most efficient and remarkable service has been rendered by these men. Patient, loyal, intelligent, not grouchy, knowing all that they were up against among their countrymen as well as the enemy, these American black men won the war as perhaps no other set of S. O. S. men of any other race or army won it.

Where were these men stationed? At almost every seaport in France and in some English ports; at many of the interior depots and bases; at the various assembling places where automobiles, airplanes, cars and locomotives were got ready for use; in the forests, on the mountains and in the valleys, cutting wood; building roads from ports of entry right up to the view and touch of Germans in the front-lines; burying the dead; salvaging at great risk to their own lives millions of shells and other dangerous war material, actually piling up and detonating the most deadly devices in order that French battlefields might be safe to those who walk the ways of peace.

Who commanded these thousands of black men assembled from all parts of the United States and representing in culture all the way from absolute illiterates from under-taught Southern States to well-educated men from southern private schools and colleges and even from many northern universities and colleges? By a queer twist of American reasoning on the Negro it is assumed that he is best known and best "handled"

by white people from the South, who more than any other white people refuse and condemn that sort of association that would most surely acquaint the white man with the very best that is in the Negro. Therefore, when officers were to be chosen for the Negro S. O. S. men, it seems that there was a preference expressed or felt for southern white officers. Some of these were fine men, but the majority were "nigger" drivers of the most offensive type.

The big, outstanding fact about the command of these colored soldiers is that southern men of a narrow, harsh type dictated the policy and method and so forced it that it became unpopular for officers to be generous to these men. When it is considered that these soldiers were abjectly under such men, with no practical opportunity for redress, it is easy to imagine the extremes to which harsh treatment could be carried. So thoroughly understood was it that the Negro had to be "properly handled and kept in his place," even in France, large use was made even of the white non-commissioned officer so that many companies and units of Negro soldiers had no higher Negro command than corporal. This harsh method showed itself in long hours, excessive tasks, little opportunity for leaves and recreation, holding of black soldiers to barracks when in the same community white soldiers had the privilege of the town, severe punishments for slight offenses, abusive language and sometimes corporal punishment. To such extremes of "handling niggers" was this carried that Negro Y. M. C. A. secretaries were refused some units on the ground, frankly stated by officers, that it would be better to have white secretaries, and in many places separate "Y" huts were demanded for white and colored soldiers so that there would be no association or fraternizing between the races.

Worked often like slaves, twelve and fourteen hours a day, these men were wellfed, poorly clad, indifferently housed, often beaten, always "Jim-Crowed" and insulted, and yet they saw the vision—they saw a nation of splendid people threatened and torn by a ruthless enemy; they saw a democracy which simply could not understand color prejudice. They received a thousand little kindnesses and half-known words of sympathy from the puzzled French, and French law and custom stepped in repeatedly to protect them, so that their only regret was the average white American. But they worked —how they worked! Everybody joins to testify to this: the white slave-drivers, the army officers, the French, the visitors—all say that the American Negro was the best laborer in France, of all the world's peoples gathered there; and if American food and materials saved France in the end from utter exhaustion, it was the Negro stevedore who made that aid effective.

THE 805TH

TO illustrate the kind of work which the stevedore and pioneer regiments did, we cite the history of one of the pioneer Negro regiments: Under the act of May 18, 1917, the President ordered the formation of eight colored infantry regiments. Two of these, the 805th and 806th, were organized at Camp Funston. The 805th became a Pioneer regiment and when it left camp had 3,526 men and 99 officers. It included 25 regulars from the 25th Infantry of the Regular Army, 38 mechanics from Prairie View, 20 horse-shoers from Tuskegee and 8 carpenters from Howard. The regiment was drilled and had target practice. The regiment proceeded to Camp Upton late in August, 1918, and sailed, a part from Montreal and a part from Quebec, Canada, early in September. Early in October the whole regiment arrived in the southern end of the Argonne forest. The men began their work of repairing roads as follows:

A—First 2,000 meters of Clermont-Neuvilly road from Clermont road past Apremont;
B—Second 2 000 meters of Clermont-Neuvilly road, Charpentry cut-off road;
C—Locheres crossroad on Clermont-Neuvilly road, north 2,000 meters, roads at Very;
D—Clermont-Neuvilly road from point 1,000 south of Neuvilly bridge to Neuvilly, ammunition detour road at Neuvilly, Charpentry roads;
E—Auzeville railhead, Varennes railhead; railhead work at St. Juvin and Briquenay;
F—Auzeville railhead, Varennes railhead, roads at Montblainville, roads at Landros-St. George;
G—Roads at Avocourt, roads at Sommerance;

H—Roads at Avocourt, roads at Fleville;
I—Construction of ammunition dump, Neuvilly, and railhead construction between Neuvilly and Varennes and Apremont, railroad repair work March and St. Juvin, construction of Verdun-Etain railroad from November 11;
K—Railhead details and road work Aubreville, road work Varennes and Charpentry;
M—Road and railhead work Aubreville, road work Varennes.

The outlying companies were continually in immediate sight of the sausage balloons and witnessed many an air battle. Raids were frequent.

A concentration had been ordered at Varennes, November 18, and several companies had taken up their abode there or at Camp Mahout, but to carry out the salvage program, a re-distribution over the Argonne-Meuse area had to be affected immediately.

The area assigned the 805th Pioneer Infantry extended from Boult-aux-Bois, almost due south to a point one kilometre west of Les Islettes; thence to Aubreville and Avocourt and Esnes; thence to Montfaucon via Bethincourt and Cuisy; thence north through Nantillois and Cunel to Bantheville; thence southwest through Romagne, Gesnes and Exermont to the main road just south of Fleville; and then north to Boult-aux-Bois through Fleville, St. Juvin, Grand Pré and Briquenay.

The area comprised all of the Argonne forest, from Clermont north and the Varennes-Malancourt-Montfaucon-Romagne sections. More than five hundred square miles of battlefield was included.

A list of the articles to be salvaged would require a page. Chiefly they were Allied and enemy weapons and cannon, web and leather equipment, clothing and blankets, rolling stock, aviation electrical and engineer equipment. It was a gigantic task and did not near completion until the first week in March when more than 3,000 French carloads had been shipped.

For some weeks truck transportation was scarce and work was slow and consisted largely in getting material to roadsides.

As companies of the 805th neared the completion of their areas they were put to work at the railheads where they helped load the salvage they had gathered and that which many other organizations of the area had brought, and sent it on its way to designated depots.

With the slackening of the salvage work, the regiment found a few days when it was possible to devote time to drilling, athletics and study. School and agricultural books were obtained in large numbers and each company organized classes which, though not compulsory, were eagerly attended by the men.

Curtailment of this work was necessitated by instructions from Advance Section Headquarters to assist in every way possible the restoration of French farmlands to a point where they could be cultivated.

This meant principally the filling of trenches across fields and upon this work the regiment entered March 15 with all its strength, except what was required for the functioning of the railheads not yet closed.

There was up to this time no regimental band.

At Camp Funston instruments had been requisitioned, but had not arrived before the regiment left. Efforts were made to enlist a colored band at Kansas City whose members wished to enter the Army as a band and be assigned to the 805th Pioneer Infantry. General Wood approved and took the matter up with the War Department. Qualified assent was obtained, but subsequent rulings prevented taking advantage of it, in view of the early date anticipated for an overseas move.

The rush of events when the regiment reached Europe precluded immediate attention being given the matter and meanwhile, general orders had been issued against equipping bands not in the Regular Army.

Left to itself, without divisional connections, the regiment had to rely upon its own resources for diversion. The men needed music after the hard work they were doing and Colonel Humphrey sent his Adjutant to Paris to present the matter to the Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus and Red Cross.

The Red Cross was able to respond immediately and Captain Bliss returned January 1, 1919, with seven cornets, six clarinets, five saxophones, four slide trombones,

four alto horns, two bass tubas, two baritones and a piccolo and, also, some "jazz band effects."

The band was organized on the spot and as more instruments and music were obtained, eventually reached almost its tabular strength while it reached proficiency almost over night.

The following commendation of the work of the regiment was received: "The Chief Engineer desires to express his highest appreciation to you and to your regiment for the services rendered to the 1st Army in the offensive between the Meuse and the Argonne, starting September 26, and the continuation of that offensive on November 1 and concluding with the Armistice of November 11.

"The success of the operations of the Army Engineer Troops toward constructing and maintaining supply lines, both roads and railway, of the Army was in no small measure made possible by the excellent work performed by your troops.

"It is desired that the terms of this letter be published to all the officers and enlisted men of your command at the earliest opportunity."

A soldier writes us:

"Our regiment is composed of colored and white officers. You will find a number of complimentary things on the regiment's record in the Argonne in the history. We were, as you know, the fighting reserves of the Army and that we were right on this front from September to November 11. We kept the lines of communication going and, of course, we were raided and shelled by German long-range guns and subject to gas raids, too.

"We are now located in the Ardennes, between the Argonne and the Meuse. This is a wild and wooly forest, I assure you. We are hoping to reach our homes in May. We have spent over seven months in this section of the battle-front and we are hoping to get started home in a few weeks after you get this letter, at least. Our regiment is the best advertised regiment in the A. E. F. and its members are from all over the United States practically.

"A month or so ago we had a pay-day here and twenty thousand dollars was collected the first day and sent to relatives and banks in the United States. Every day our mail sergeant sends from one hundred to one thousand dollars per day to the United States for the men in our regiment,—savings of the small salary they receive as soldiers. As a whole they are and have learned many things by having had this great war experience."

NEGRO OFFICERS

ALL this was expected. America knows the value of Negro labor. Negroes knew that in this war as in every other war they would have the drudgery and the dirt, but with set teeth they determined that this should not be the end and limit of their service. They did not make the mistake of seeking to escape labor, for they knew that modern war is mostly ordinary toil; they even took without protest the lion's share of the common labor, but they insisted from the first that black men must serve as soldiers and officers.

The white Negro-hating oligarchy was willing to have some Negro soldiers—the privilege of being shot in real war being one which they were easily persuaded to share—provided these black men did not get too much notoriety out of it. But against Negro officers they set their faces like flint.

The dogged insistence of the Negroes, backed eventually by the unexpected decision of Secretary Baker, encompassed the first defeat of this oligarchy and nearly one thousand colored officers were commissioned.

Immediately a persistent campaign began:

First, was the effort to get rid of Negro officers; second, the effort to discredit Negro soldiers; third, the effort to spread race prejudice in France; and fourth, the effort to keep Negroes out of the Regular Army.

COMPANY 22, SIXTH BATTALION, 163rd DEPOT BRIGADE, CAMP DODGE, IOWA. THE ONLY UNIT IN THE DEPOT BRIGADES ENTIRELY OFFICERED BY NEGROES. CAPTAIN C. C. COOPER, AND LIEUTENANTS T. M. GREGORY, E. S. HORNE, J. E. OLIVER, W. B. HALL AND W. C. DICKERSON.

First and foremost, war is war and military organization is, and must be, tyranny. This is, perhaps, the greatest and most barbarous cost of war and the most pressing reason for its abolition from civilization. As war means tyranny, the company officer is largely at the mercy of his superior officers.

The company officers of the colored troops were mainly colored. The field officers were with very few exceptions white. The fate of the colored officers, therefore, depended almost absolutely on those placed in higher command. Moreover, American military trials and legal procedures are antiquated and may be grossly unfair. They give the accused little chance if the accuser is determined and influential.

The success, then, of the Negro troops depended first of all on their field officers; given strong, devoted men of knowledge and training there was no doubt of their being able to weed out and train company officers and organize the best body of fighters on the western front. This was precisely what the Negro-haters feared. Above all, they feared Charles Young.

CHARLES YOUNG

THERE was one man in the United States Army who by every consideration of justice, efficiency and long, faithful service should have been given the command of a division of colored troops. Colonel Charles Young is a graduate of West Point and by universal admission is one of the best officers in the Army. He has served in Cuba, Haiti, the Philippines, Mexico, Africa and the West with distinction. Under him the Negro division would have been the most efficient in the Army. This rightful place was denied him. For a technical physical reason ("high blood pressure") he was quickly retired from the Regular Army. He was not allowed a minor command or even a chance to act as instructor during the war.

On the contrary, the 92d and 93d Divisions of Negro troops were given Commanding Officers who with a half-dozen exceptions either distrusted Negroes or actively and persistently opposed colored officers under any circumstances. The 92d Division particularly was made a dumping ground for poor and inexperienced field officers seeking promotion. A considerable number of these white officers from the first spent more time and ingenuity in making the lot of the Negro officer hard and the chance of the Negro soldier limited than in preparing to whip the Germans.

PREJUDICE

THESE efforts fell under various heads: giving the colored officers no instruction in certain lines and then claiming that none were fitted for the work, as in artillery and engineering; persistently picking the poorest Negro candidates instead of the best for examinations and tests so as to make any failure conspicuous; using court martials and efficiency boards for trivial offenses and wholesale removals of the Negroes; subjecting Negro officers and men to persistent insult and discrimination by refusing salutes, "Jim-Crowing" places of accommodation and amusement, refusing leaves, etc.; by failing to supply the colored troops with proper equipment and decent clothing; and finally by a systematic attempt to poison the minds of the French against the Negroes and compel them to follow the dictates of American prejudice.

These are serious charges. The full proof of them cannot be attempted here, but a few examples will serve to indicate the nature of the proof.

At the colored Officers' Training Camp no instruction was given in artillery and a dead-line was established by which no one was commissioned higher than Captain, despite several recommendations. Certain Captains' positions, like those of the Headquarters Companies, were reserved for whites, and former non-commissioned officers were given preference with the hope that they would be more tractable than college-bred men—a hope that usually proved delusive.

The colored divisions were never assembled as units this side of the water. General Ballou, a timid, changeable white man, was put in command of the 92d Division and he antagonized it from the beginning.

General Ballou's attitude toward the men of his command, as expressed in his famous, or rather infamous, Bulletin 35, which was issued during the period of training in the United States, was manifested throughout the division during the entire time that he was in command in France. Whenever any occasion arose where trouble had occurred between white and colored soldiers, the burden of proof always rested on the colored man. All discrimination was passed unnoticed and nothing was done to protect the men who were under his command. Previous to General Bullard's suggestion that some order be issued encouraging the troops for the good work that they had done on the Vosges and Marbache fronts, there had been nothing done to encourage the men and officers, and it seemed that instead of trying to increase the morale of the division, it was General Ballou's intention to discourage the men as much as possible. His action in censuring officers in the presence of enlisted men was an act that tended toward breaking down the confidence that the men had in their officers, and he pursued this method on innumerable occasions. On one occasion he referred to his division, in talking to another officer, as the "rapist division"; he constantly cast aspersion on the work of the colored officer and permitted other officers to do the same in his presence, as is evidenced by the following incident which took place in the office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-3, at Bourbon-les-Bains:

The staff had just been organized and several General Headquarters officers were at Headquarters advising relative to the organization of the different offices. These officers were in conversation with General Ballou, Colonel Greer, the Chief of Staff, Major Hickox, and Brigadier-General Hay. In the course of the conversation Brigadier-General Hay made the remark that "In my opinion there is no better soldier than the Negro, but God damn a 'nigger' officer"! This remark was made in the presence of General Ballou and was the occasion for much laughter.

After the 92d Division moved from the Argonne forest to the Marbache Sector the 368th Infantry was held in reserve at Pompey. It was at this place that General Ballou ordered all of the enlisted men and officers of this unit to congregate and receive an address to be delivered to them by him. No one had any idea as to the nature of this address; but on the afternoon designated, the men and officers assembled on the ground, which was used as a drill-ground, and the officers were severely censured relative to the operation that had taken place in the Argonne forest. The General advised the officers, in the presence of the enlisted men, that in his opinion they were cowards; that they had failed; and that "they did not have the guts" that made brave men. This speech was made to the officers in the presence of all of the enlisted men of the 368th Infantry and was an act contrary to all traditions of the Army.

When Mr. Ralph Tyler, the accredited correspondent of the War Department, reached the Headquarters of the 92d Division and was presented to General Ballou, he was received with the utmost indifference and nothing was done to enable him to reach the units at the front in order to gain the information which he desired. After Mr. Tyler was presented to General Ballou, the General walked out of the office of the Chief of Staff with Mr. Tyler, came into the office of the Adjutant, where all of the enlisted men worked, and stood directly in front of the desk of the colored officer, who was seated in the office of the Adjutant, and in a loud voice said to Mr. Tyler: "I regard the colored officer as a distinct failure. He is cowardly and has none of the traits which go to make a successful officer." This expression was made in the presence of all of the enlisted personnel and in a tone of voice loud enough for all of them to hear.

General Ballou's Chief of Staff was a white Georgian and from first to last his malign influence was felt and he openly sought political influence to antagonize his own troops.

General ————, Commanding Officer of the ———— (92d Division), said to Major Patterson (colored), Division Judge-Advocate, that there was a concerted action on the part of the white officers throughout France to discredit the work of the colored troops in France and that everything was being done to advertise those things that would reflect discredit upon the men and officers and to withhold anything that would bring to these men praise or commendation.

On the afternoon of November 8, the Distinguished Service Cross was awarded to Lieutenant Campbell and Private Bernard Lewis, 368th Infantry, the presentation of which was made with the prescribed ceremonies, taking place on a large field just outside of Villers-en-Haye and making a very impressive sight. The following morning a private from the 804th Pioneer Infantry was executed at Belleville, for rape. The official photographer attached to the 92d Division arose at 5 A. M. on the morning of the execution, which took place at 6 A. M., and made a moving-picture film of the hanging of this private. Although the presentation of the Distinguished Service Crosses occurred at 3 P. M. on the previous day, the official photographer did not see fit to make a picture of this and when asked if he had made a picture of the presentation, he replied that he had forgotten about it.

The campaign against Negro officers began in the cantonments. At Camp Dix every effort was made to keep competent colored artillery officers from being trained. Most of the Colonels began a campaign for wholesale removals of Negro officers from the moment of embarkation.

At first an attempt was made to have General Headquarters in France assent to the blanket proposition that white and Negro officers would not get on in the same organization; this was unsuccessful and was followed by the charge that Negroes were incompetent as officers. This charge was made wholesale and before the colored officers had had a chance to prove themselves, "Efficiency Boards" immediately began wholesale removals and as such boards could act on the mere opinion of field officers the colored company officers began to be removed wholesale and to be replaced by whites.

The court martials of Negro officers were often outrageous in their contravention of common sense and military law. The experience of one Captain will illustrate. He was a college man, with militia training, who secured a Captaincy at Des Moines —a very difficult accomplishment—and was from the first regarded as an efficient officer by his fellows; when he reached Europe, however, the Major of his battalion was from Georgia, and this Captain was too independent to suit him. The Major suddenly ordered the Captain under close arrest and after long delay preferred twenty-three charges against him. These he afterward reduced to seven continuing meantime to heap restrictions and insults on the accused, but untried, officer. Instead of breaking arrest or resenting his treatment the Captain kept cool, hired a good colored lawyer in his division and put up so strong a fight that the court martial acquitted him and restored him to his command, and sent the Major to the stevedores.

Not every officer was able thus to preserve his calm and poise.

One colored officer turned and cursed his unfair superiors and the court martial, and revealed an astonishing story of the way in which he had been hounded.

A Lieutenant of a Machine Gun Battalion was employed at Intelligence and Personnel work. He was dismissed and reinstated three times because the white officers who succeeded him could not do the work. Finally he was under arrest for one and one-half months and was dismissed from service, but General Headquarters investigated the case and restored him to his rank.

Most of the Negro officers had no chance to fight. Some were naturally incompetent and deserved demotion or removal, but these men were not objects of attack as often as the more competent and independent men.

Here, however, as so often afterward, the French stepped in, quite unconsciously, and upset careful plans. While the American officers were convinced of the Negro officers' incompetency and were besieging General Headquarters to remove them *en masse*, the French instructors at the Gondricourt Training School, where Captains and selected Lieutenants were sent for training, reported that the Negroes were among the best Americans sent there.

Moreover, the 93d Division, which had never been assembled or even completed as a unit and stood unrecognized and unattached, was suddenly called in the desperate French need, to be brigaded with French soldiers. The Americans were thoroughly scared. Negroes and Negro officers were about to be introduced to French democracy without the watchful eye of American color hatred to guard them. Something must be done.

As the Negro troops began moving toward the Vosges sector of the battlefront, August 6, 1918, active anti-Negro propaganda became evident. From the General Headquarters of the American Army at Chaumont the French Military Mission suddenly sent out, not simply to the French Army, but to all the Prefects and Sous-Prefects of France (corresponding to our governors and mayors), data setting forth at length the American attitude toward Negroes; warning against social recognition; stating that Negroes were prone to deeds of violence and were threatening America with degeneration, etc. The white troops backed this propaganda by warnings and tales wherever they preceded the blacks.

This misguided effort was lost on the French. In some cases peasants and villagers were scared at the approach of Negro troops, but this was but temporary and the colored troops everywhere they went soon became easily the best liked of all foreign soldiers. They were received in the best homes, and where they could speak French or their hosts understood English, there poured forth their story of injustice and wrong into deeply sympathetic ears. The impudent swagger of many white troops, with their openly expressed contempt for "Frogs" and their evident failure to understand the first principles of democracy in the most democratic of lands, finished the work thus begun.

No sounding words of President Wilson can offset in the minds of thousands of Frenchmen the impression of disloyalty and coarseness which the attempt to force color prejudice made on a people who just owed their salvation to black West Africa!

Little was published or openly said, but when the circular on American Negro prejudice was brought to the attention of the French ministry, it was quietly collected and burned. And in a thousand delicate ways the French expressed their silent disapprobation. For instance, in a provincial town a colored officer entered a full dining-room; the smiling landlady hastened to seat him (how natural!) at a table with white American officers, who immediately began to show their displeasure. A French officer at a neighboring table with French officers quietly glanced at the astonished landlady. Not a word was said, no one in the dining-room took any apparent notice, but the black officer was soon seated with the courteous Frenchmen.

On the Negroes this double experience of deliberate and devilish persecution from their own countrymen, coupled with a taste of real democracy and world-old culture, was revolutionizing. They began to hate prejudice and discrimination as they had never hated it before. They began to realize its eternal meaning and complications. Far from filling them with a desire to escape from their race and country, they were filled with a bitter, dogged determination never to give up the fight for Negro equality in America. If American color prejudice counted on this war experience to break the spirit of the young Negro, it counted without its host. A new, radical Negro spirit has been born in France which leaves us older radicals far behind. Thousands of young black men have offered their lives for the Lilies of France and they return ready to offer them again for the Sun-flowers of Afro-America.

THE 93RD DIVISION

THE first American Negroes to arrive in France were the Labor Battalions, comprising all told some 150,000 men.

The Negro fighting units were the 92nd and 93rd Divisions.

The so-called 93rd Division was from the first a thorn in the flesh of the Bourbons. It consisted of Negro National Guard troops almost exclusively officered by Negroes,—the 8th Illinois, the 15th New York, and units from the District of Columbia, Maryland, Ohio, Tennessee and Massachusetts. The division was thus incomplete and never really functioned as a division. For a time it was hoped that Colonel Young might be given his chance here, but nothing came of this. Early in April when the need of the French for re-enforcements was sorest, these black troops were hurriedly transported to France and were soon brigaded with the French armies.

THE 369TH

THIS regiment was originally authorized by Governor Sulzer, but its formation was long prevented. Finally it was organized with but one Negro officer. Eventually the regiment sailed with colored and white officers, landing in France, January 1, 1918, and went into the second battle of the Marne in July, east of Verdun, near Ville-sur-Turbe. It was thus the first American Negro unit in battle and one of the first American units. Colored officers took part in this battle and some were cited for bravery. Nevertheless the white Colonel, Hayward, after the battle secured the transfer of every single colored officer, except the bandmaster and chaplain.

The regiment was in a state of irritation many times, but it was restrained by the influence of the non-commissioned officers—very strong in this case because the regiment was all from New York and mainly from Harlem—and especially because being brigaded with the French they were from the first treated on such terms of equality and brotherhood that they were eager to fight. There were charges that Colonel Hayward and his white officers needlessly sacrificed the lives of these men. This, of course, is hard to prove; but certainly the casualties in this regiment were heavy and in the great attack in the Champagne, in September and October, two hundred were killed and eight hundred were wounded and gassed. The regiment went into battle with the French on the left and the Morrocans on the right and got into its own barrage by advancing faster than the other units. It was in line seven and one-half days, when three to four days is usually the limit.

In all, the regiment was under fire 191 days—a record for any American unit. It received over 170 citations for the *Croix de Guerre* and Distinguished Service Cross and was the first unit of the Allied armies to reach the Rhine, November 18, with the Second French Army.

SERGEANT E. W. BARRINGTINE, 369th U. S. I., WITH FRENCH MEDAILLE MILITAIRE AND CROIX DE GUERRE.

THE 371ST AND 372ND

THE 371st Regiment was drafted from South Carolina and had southern white officers from the first, many of whom were arrogant and overbearing. The regiment mobilized at Camp Jackson, October 5-17, and embarked for France, April 9, from Newport News, Va. It was trained at Rembercourt-aux-Ports (Meuse) and left for the region near Bar-le-Duc, June 5. The troops arrived in the Argonne June 22. They were brigaded with the 157th French Division, 13th Army Corps, and remained in the battle-line, front and reserve, until the Armistice was signed.

There are few data at present available for the history of this regiment because there were no colored officers to preserve it. It is rumored, however, that after the first battle the number of casualties among the meanest of their officers led to some mutual understandings. The regiment received a number of citations for bravery.

As this regiment was brigaded usually with the 372nd, a part of its history follows:

The official records show that the 372nd Infantry was organized at Camp Stuart,

January 1, 1918, Colonel Glendie B. Young, Infantry, U. S. N. G., commanding, and included the following National Guard units: First Separate Battalion, District of Columbia, Infantry; Ninth Battalion of Ohio, Infantry; Company L, Sixth Massachusetts, Infantry; and one company each from Maryland, Tennessee and Connecticut. To these were added later 250 men from Camp Custer; excepting the Staff, Machine Gun, Headquarters and Supply Companies, the regiment was officered by colored men.

The regiment was brigaded with the 371st into the 186th Infantry Brigade, a unit of the Provisional 93rd Division. It was understood that the 93rd Division, which was to be composed of all Negro troops, would be fully organized in France; but when the 372nd arrived at St. Nazaire, April 14, 1918, the organization was placed under command of the French. Four weeks later the brigade was dissolved and the 93rd Division ceased to be mentioned. Its four regiments were all subject to orders of the French G. Q. G., General Petain, commanding.

The regiment spent five weeks in training and re-organization at Conde-en-Barrois (Meuse), as a unit of the 13th French Army Corps. The men were trained in French methods by French officers and non-commissioned officers with French ordnance equipment. They developed so rapidly that a French Major exclaimed enthusiastically on the street: "These men are intelligent and alert. Their regiment will have a glorious career." Thus, from the beginning the worth of our troops was recognized by a veteran of the French Army.

To complete its training under actual war conditions, the regiment was sent to a "quiet sector"—sub-sector, Argonne West, on June 8, where it spent twenty days learning the organization of defensive positions and how to hold these positions under shell fire from the enemy. During this time it was a part of the 63rd French Division and during the last ten days it was a part of the 35th French Division. On July 2, the 372nd Infantry became permanently identified with the 157th French Division, commanded by General Goybet. The division consisted of two colored American regiments and one French regiment of infantry. The artillery units, engineers, sanitary train, etc., were all French. On his first inspection tour, at Vanquois, General Goybet asked one of our men if he thought the Germans could pass if they started over. The little brown private replied: "Not if the boches can't do a good job in killing all of us." That pleased the new General very much and clinched his confidence in the black troops.

On July 13 the regiment retired to a reserve position near the village of Locheres (Meuse), for temporary rest and to help sustain the coming blow. The next day Colonel Young was relieved of command by Colonel Herschel Tupes, a regular army officer. In the afternoon the regiment was assembled and prepared for action, but it later was found that it would not be needed. The attack of the Germans was launched near Rheims on the night of July 14 and the next evening the world read of the decisive defeat of the Germans by General Gourand's army.

The following Sunday found the regiment billeted in the town of Sivry-la-Perche, not very far from Verdun. After a band concert in the afternoon Colonel Tupes introduced himself to his command. In the course of his remarks, he said that he had always commanded regulars, but he had little doubt that the 372nd Infantry could become as good as any regiment in France.

On July 26 the regiment occupied sub-sector 304. The occupation of this subsector was marked by hard work and discontentment. The whole position had to be re-organized, and in doing this the men maintained their previous reputation for good work. The total stay in the sector was seven weeks. The regiment took part in two raids and several individuals distinguished themselves: one man received a *Croix de Guerre* because he held his trench mortar between his legs to continue firing when the base had been damaged by a shell; another carried a wounded French comrade from "No Man's Land" under heavy fire, and was also decorated. Several days after a raid, the Germans were retaliating by shelling the demolished village of Montzeville, situated in the valley below the Post-of-Command and occupied by some of the reserves; Private Rufus Pinckney rushed through the heavy fire and rescued a wounded French soldier.

On another occasion, Private Kenneth Lewis of the Medical Detachment, later killed at his post, displayed such fine qualities of coolness and disdain for danger by sticking to duty until the end that two post-mortem decorations: the *Croix de Guerre* with Palm and *Medaille Militaire* were awarded. The latter is a very distinguished recognition in the French Army.

So well had the regiment worked in the Argonne that it was sent to relieve the 123rd French Infantry Regiment in the sub-sector Vanquois, on July 28. An attack by the Germans in the valley of the Aire, of which Vanquois was a key, was expected at any moment. New defenses were to be constructed and old ones strengthened. The men applied themselves with a courageous devotion, night and day, to their tasks and after two weeks of watchful working under fire, Vanquois became a formidable defensive system.

Besides the gallantry of Private Pinckney, Montzeville must be remembered in connection with the removal of colored officers from the regiment. It was there that a board of officers (all white) requested by Colonel Young and appointed by Colonel Tupes, sat on the cases of twenty-one colored officers charged with inefficiency. Only one out of that number was acquitted: he was later killed in action. The charges of inefficiency were based on physical disability, insufficient training, unsuitability. The other colored officers who had been removed were either transferred to other units or sent to re-classification depots.

The Colonel told the Commanding General through an interpreter: "The colored officers in this regiment know as much about their duties as a child." The General was surprised and whispered to another French officer that the Colonel himself was not so brilliant and that he believed it was prejudice that caused the Colonel to make such a change. A few moments after, the Colonel told the General that he had requested that no more colored officers be sent to the regiment. In reply to this the General explained how unwise it was because the colored officers had been trained along with their men at a great expenditure of time and money by the American and French governments; and, also, he doubted if well-qualified white officers could be spared him from other American units. The General insisted that the time was at hand for the great autumn drive and that it would be a hindrance because he feared the men would not be pleased with the change. The Colonel heeded not his General and forwarded two requests for an anti-colored-officer regiment. He went so far as to tell the Lieutenant-Colonel that he believed the regiment should have white men for non-commissioned officers. Of course, the men would not have stood for this at any price. The Colonel often would tell the Adjutant to never trust a "damned black clerk" and that he considered "one white man worth a million Negroes."

About September 8 the regiment was relieved by the 129th United States Infantry and was sent to the rear for a period of rest. Twenty-four hours after arrival in the rest area, orders were received to proceed farther. The nightly marches began. The regiment marched from place to place in the Aube, the Marne and the Haute Marne until it went into the great Champagne battle on September 27.

For nine days it helped push the Hun toward the Belgian frontier. Those days were hard, but these men did their duty and came out with glory. Fortunately all the colored officers had not left the regiment and it was they and the brave sergeants who led the men to victory and fame. The new white officers had just arrived, some of them the night before the regiment went into battle, several of whom had never been under fire in any capacity, having just come out of the training school at Langres. Nevertheless, the regiment was cited by the French and the regimental colors were decorated by Vice-Admiral Moreau at Brest, January 24, 1919.

After the relief on the battlefield, the regiment reached Somme Bionne (Marne) October 8. Congratulations came in from everywhere except American Headquarters. After a brief rest of three days the regiment was sent to a quiet sector in the Vosges on the frontier of Alsace. The Colonel finally disposed of the remaining colored officers, except the two dentists and the two chaplains. All the officers were instructed to carry their arms at all times and virtually to shoot any soldier on the least provoca-

tion. As a consequence, a corporal of Company L was shot and killed by First Lieutenant James B. Coggins, from North Carolina, for a reason that no one has ever been able to explain. The signing of the Armistice and the cessation of hostilities, perhaps, prevented a general, armed opposition to a system of prejudice encouraged by the Commanding Officer of the Regiment.

Despite the prejudice of officers toward the men, the regiment marched from Ban-de-Laveline to Granges of Vologne, a distance of forty-five kilometers, in one day and maintained such remarkable discipline that the officers themselves were compelled to accord them praise.

While stationed at Granges, individuals in the regiment were decorated on December 17 for various deeds of gallantry in the Champagne battle. General Goybet presented four military medals and seventy-two *Croix de Guerre* to enlisted men. Colonel Tupes presented four Distinguished Service Crosses to enlisted men. At the time, the regiment had just been returned to the American command, the following order was read:

157th Division Hqrs. December 15th, 1918.
Staff.

General Order No. 246.

On the date of the 12th of December, 1918, the 371st and the 372nd R. I., U. S. have been returned to the disposal of the American Command. It is not without profound emotion that I come in the name of the 157th (French) Division and in my personal name, to say good-bye to our valiant comrades of combat.

For seven months we have lived as brothers of arms, sharing the same works the same hardships, the same dangers; side by side we have taken part in the great battle of the Champagne, that a wonderful victory has ended.

The 157th (French) Division will never forget the wonderful impetus irresistible, the rush heroic of the colored American regiments on the "Observatories Crest" and in the Plain of Menthois. The most formidable defense, the nests of machine guns, the best organized positions, the artillery barrages most crushing, could not stop them. These best regiments have gone through all with disdain of death and thanks to their courage devotedness, the "Red Hand" Division has during nine hard days of battle been ahead in the victorious advance of the Fourth (French) Army.

Officers and non-commissioned officers and privates of the 371st and 372nd Regiments Infantry, U. S., I respectfully salute your glorious dead and I bow down before your standards, which by the side of the 333rd R. I., led us to victory.

Dear Friends from America, when you have crossed back over the ocean, don't forget the "Red Hand" Division. Our fraternity of arms has been soaked in the blood of the brave. Those bonds will be indestructible.

Keep a faithful remembrance to your General, so proud to have commanded you and remember that his thankful affection is gained to you forever.

(Signed) General Goybet, Commanding the 157th (French) Division, Infantry.

Colonel Tupes, in addressing the regiment, congratulated them on the achievements and expressed his satisfaction with their conduct. He asked the men to take a just pride in their accomplishments and their spirit of loyalty.

Can this be surpassed for eccentricity?

The seven weeks at Granges were pleasant and profitable socially. Lectures were given to the men by French officers, outdoor recreation was provided and the civilian population opened their hearts and their homes to the Negro heroes. Like previous attempts, the efforts of the white officers to prevent the mingling of Negroes with the French girls of the village were futile. Every man was taken on his merits. The mayor of Granges gave the regiment an enthusiastic farewell.

On January 1, 1919, the regiment entrained for Le-Mans (Sarthe). After complying with the red-tape preparatory to embarkation and the delousing process it went to Brest, arriving there January 13, 1919.

THE 370TH

UP to this point the anti-Negro propaganda is clear and fairly consistent and unopposed. General Headquarters had not only witnessed instructions in Negro prejudice to the French, but had, also, consented to wholesale removals of officers among the engineers and infantry, on the main ground of color. Even the French, in at least one case, had been persuaded that Negro officers were the cause of certain inefficiencies in Negro units.

Undoubtedly the cruel losses of the 369th Regiment were due in part to the assumption of the French at first that the American Negroes were like the Senegalese; these half-civilized troops could not in the time given them be trained in modern machine warfare, and they were rushed at the enemy almost with naked hands. The resulting slaughter was horrible. Our troops tell of great black fields of stark and crimson dead after some of these superhuman onrushes.

It was this kind of fighting that the French expected of the black Americans at first and some white American officers did not greatly care so long as white men got the glory. The French easily misunderstood the situation at first and assumed that the Negro officers were to blame, especially as this was continually suggested to them by the Americans.

It was another story, however, when the 370th Regiment came. This was the famous 8th Illinois, and it had a full quota of Negro officers, from Colonel down. It had seen service on the Mexican Border; it went to Houston, Tex., after the Thirteen had died for Freedom; and it was treated with wholesome respect. It was sent to Newport News, Va., for embarkation; once Colonel Dennison refused to embark his troops and marched them back to camp because he learned they were to be "Jim-Crowed" on the way over.

The regiment arrived at Brest, April 22, and was assigned to the 72nd French Division, remaining near Belfort until June 17. Then it went with the 34th French

THE COLONEL AND OFFICERS OF THE 370th U. S. I. WITH CAPTAIN BOUTTE AND DR. DU BOIS IN CAMP AT LE MANS, FRANCE.

Division into the front-line, at St. Mihiel, for a month and later with the 36th French Division into the Argonne, where they fought. They were given a short period of rest and then they went into the front-line, at Soissons, with the 59th French Division. In September and October they were fighting again.

On September 15, in the Vauxaillion area, they captured Mt. Dessinges and the adjacent woods after severe fighting. They held a sector alone afterward on the Canal L'Oise et Aisne and when attacked, repulsed the Germans and moved forward, gaining the praise of the French General. On October 24, the regiment went into the front-line again, near Grand Lup, and performed excellent service; the Armistice found part of the regiment across the Belgian frontier.

The general conduct of the regiment was excellent. No case of rape was reported and only one murder. The regiment received sixteen Distinguished Service Crosses and seventy-five *Croix de Guerre*, beside company citations.

When at first the regiment did not adopt the tactics of "shock" troops, the white Americans again took their cue and inspired a speech from the French General, which the colored men could not understand. It was not long, however, before the French General publicly apologized for his first and hasty criticism and afterward he repeatedly commended both officers and men for their bravery, intelligence and daring. This regiment received more citations than any other American regiment for bravery on the field of battle. There was, of course, the fly in the ointment,—the effort to substitute white officers was strong and continuous, notwithstanding the fact that many of the black officers of this regiment were among the most efficient in the American Army.

General Headquarters by this time haa begun to change its attitude and curb the Bourbons. It announced that it was not the policy of the American Army to make wholesale removals simply on account of color and it allowed the citations for bravery of Negro troops to be approved.

Nevertheless, the pressure continued. First the colored Colonel, the ranking Negro officer in France, was sent home. The reason for this is not clear. At any rate Colonel Dennison was replaced by a white Colonel, who afterward accepted a *Croix de Guerre* for an exploit which the Negro officers to a man declare was actually performed by a Negro officer while he was sitting snugly in his tent. The men of the regiment openly jeered him, crying out: "Blue Eyes ain't our Colonel; Duncan's our Colonel!" referring to the colored Lieutenant-Colonel. But the white Colonel was diplomatic; he let the colored officers run the regiment, posed as the "Moses" of the colored race (to the open amusement of the Negroes) and quietly tried to induct white officers. "I cannot understand why they sent this white Lieutenant," he said plaintively to a colored officer. The officer at that moment had in his pocket a copy of the Colonel's telegram asking General Headquarters for white officers. But the Armistice came before the Colonel succeeded in getting but two white officers,—his brother as Major (without a battalion) and one Lieutenant.

The organization that ranked all America in distinction remained, therefore, a Negro organization, for the white Colonel was only "commanding" and Dennison was still titular head.

THE 92ND DIVISION

So much for the 93rd Division. Its troops fought magnificently in the Champagne, the Argonne and elsewhere and were given unstinted praise by the French and even commendation by the Americans. They fought well, too, despite the color of their officers—371st Regiment under white, the 369th and 372nd Regiments under white and colored, and the 370th Regiment under colored were equally brave, except that the 370th Regiment made the most conspicuous record.

One might conclude under ordinary circumstances that it was a matter of efficiency in officers and not of race, but, unfortunately, the efficient colored officer had almost no chance even to try except in the 370th Regiment and in the Champagne battle with the 372nd Regiment. With a fair chance there is no doubt that he could

have led every one of these regiments just as well as the white officers. It must, too, be remembered that all the non-commissioned officers in all these regiments were Negroes.

The storm center of the Negro troops was the 92nd Division. The brigading of the 93rd Division with the French made wholesale attack and depreciation difficult, since it was continually annulled by the generous appreciation of the French. The 92nd Division, however, was planned as a complete Negro division, manned by Negro company officers. Everything depended, then, on the General and field officers as to how fair this experiment should be.

From the very first there was open and covert opposition and trouble. Instead of putting Colonel Young at the head, the white General Ballou, was chosen and surrounded by southern white officers who despised "nigger" officers.

General Ballou himself was well-meaning, but weak, vacillating, without great ability and afraid of southern criticism. He was morbidly impressed by the horror of this "experiment" and proceeded from the first to kill the morale of his troops by orders and speeches. He sought to make his Negro officers feel personal responsibility for the Houston outbreak; he tried to accuse them indirectly of German propaganda; he virtually ordered them to submit to certain personal humiliations and discriminations without protest. Thus, before the 92nd Division was fully formed, General Ballou had spread hatred and distrust among his officers and men. "That old Ballou stuff!" became a by-word in the division for anti-Negro propaganda. Ballou was finally dismissed from his command for "tactical inefficiency."

The main difficulty, however, lay in a curious misapprehension in white men of the meaning and method of race contact in America. They sought desperately to reproduce in the Negro division and in France the racial restrictions of America, on the theory that any new freedom would "spoil" the blacks. But they did not understand the fact that men of the types who became Negro officers protect themselves from continuous insult and discrimination by making and moving in a world of their own; they associate socially where they are more than welcome; they live for the most part beside neighbors who like them; they attend schools where they are not insulted; and they work where their work is appreciated. Of course, every once in a while they have to unite to resent encroachments upon their world—new discriminations in law and custom; but this is occasional and not continuous.

The world which General Ballou and his field officers tried to re-create for Negro officers was a world of continuous daily insult and discrimination to an extent that none had ever experienced, and they did this in a country where the discrimination was artificial and entirely unnecessary, arousing the liveliest astonishment and mystification.

For instance, when the Headquarters Company of the 92nd Division sailed for Brest, elaborate quarters in the best hotel were reserved for white officers, and unfinished barracks, without beds and in the cold and mud, were assigned Negro officers. The colored officers went to their quarters and then returned to the city. They found that the white Americans, unable to make themselves understood in French, had not been given their reservation, but had gone to another and poorer hotel. The black officers immediately explained and took the fine reservations.

As no Negroes had been trained in artillery it was claimed immediately that none were competent. Nevertheless some were finally found to qualify. Then it was claimed that technically trained privates were impossible to find. There were plenty to be had if they could be gathered from the various camps. Permission to do this was long refused, but after endless other delays and troubles, the Field Artillery finally came into being with a few colored officers. Before the artillery was ready, the division mobilized at Camp Upton, between May 28 and June 4, and was embarked by the tenth of June for France.

The entire 92nd Division arrived at Brest by June 20. A week later the whole division went to Bourbonne-les-Bains, where it stayed in training until August 6. Here a determined effort at wholesale replacement of the colored officers took place

Fifty white Lieutenants were sent to the camp to replace Negro officers. "Efficiency" boards began to weed out colored men.

Without doubt there was among colored as among white American officers much inefficiency, due to lack of adaptability, training and the hurry of preparation. But in the case of the Negro officers repeatedly the race question came to the fore and permission was asked to remove them because they were colored, while the inefficiency charge was a wholesale one against their "race and nature."

General Headquarters by this time, however, had settled down to a policy of requiring individual, rather than wholesale, accusation, and while this made a difference, yet in the army no officer can hold his position long if his superiors for any reason wish to get rid of him. While, then, many of the waiting white Lieutenants went away, the colored officers began to be systematically reduced in number.

On August 6 the division entered the front-line trenches in the Vosges sector and stayed here until September 20. It was a quiet sector, with only an occasional German raid to repel. About September 20, the division began to move to the Argonne, where the great American drive to cut off the Germans was to take place. The colored troops were not to enter the front-lines, as General Pershing himself afterward said, as they were entirely unequipped for front-line service. Nevertheless, the 368th Regiment, which arrived in the Argonne September 24, was suddenly sent into battle on the front-line on the morning of September 26. As this is a typical instance of the difficulties of Negro officers and troops, it deserves recital in detail.

It is the story of the failure of white field officers to do their duty and the partially successful and long-continued effort of company officers and men to do their duty despite this. That there was inexperience and incompetency among the colored officers is probable, but it was not confined to them; in their case the greater responsibility lay elsewhere, for it was the plain duty of the field officers: First, to see that their men were equipped for battle; second, to have the plans clearly explained, at least, step by step, to the company officers; third, to maintain liaison between battalions and between the regiment and the French and other American units.

Here follows the story as it was told to me point by point by those who were actually on the spot. They were earnest, able men, mostly Lieutenants and Captains, and one could not doubt, there in the dim, smoke-filled tents about Le Mans, their absolute conscientiousness and frankness.

THE 368TH

THE 368th Regiment went into the Argonne September 24 and was put into the drive on the morning of September 26. Its duty was "combat liaison," with the French 37th Division and the 77th (white) Division of Americans. The regiment as a whole was not equipped for battle in the front-line. It had no artillery support until the sixth day of the battle; it had no grenades, no trench fires, trombones, or signal flares, no airplane panels for signaling and no shears for German wire. The wire-cutting shears given them were absolutely useless with the heavy German barbed wire and they were able to borrow only sixteen large shears, which had to serve the whole attacking battalion.* Finally, they had no maps and were at no time given definite objectives.

The Second Battalion of the 368th Regiment entered battle on the morning of September 26, with Major Elser in command; all the company officers were colored;

* "On advancing from the French trenches the morning of the twenty-sixth much wire was met with by organizations and owing to the fact that none had wirecutters, considerable disorganization resulted in the companies, especially in the matter of liaison."

"As it was almost dark at this time and having no liaison with any of the other units, I decided to withdraw until I could get in touch with the Commanding Officer, 368th Infantry. The enemy searched along the trails with their artillery during our withdrawal, but none of the shells fell near us; it was pitch dark by this time and we had just reached the German's first trench. There was much confusion owing to the mass of wire we had to contend with in the dark before the companies reached the French trenches."

"Company G spent the entire day of the twenty-sixth working its way through the wire entanglements. Great difficulty was experienced in this work because of the lack of wirecutters."

—*Reports of Major M. A. Elser.*

Company F went "over the top" at 5:30 A. M.; Company H, with which the Major was, went "over" at 12:30 noon; advancing four kilometers the battalion met the enemy's fire; the Machine Gun Company silenced the fire; Major Elser, who had halted in the woods to collect souvenirs from dead German bodies, immediately withdrew part of the battalion to the rear in single file about dark without notifying the rest of the battalion. Captain Dabney and Lieutenant Powell of the Machine Gun Company led the rest of the men out in order about 10:00 P. M. When the broadside opened on September 26, Major Elser stood wringing his hands and crying: "What shall I do! What shall I do!" At night he deplored the occurrence, said it was all his fault, and the next morning Major Elser commended the Machine Gun Company for extricating the deserted part of the battalion. Moving forward again at 11 A. M., two companies went "over the top" at 4 P. M. without liaison. With the rest of the battalion again, these companies went forward one and one-half kilometers. Major Elser stayed back with the Post-of-Command. Enemy fire and darkness again stopped the advancing companies and Captain Jones fell back 500 metres and sent a message about 6 A. M. on the morning of September 28 to the Major asking for re-enforcements. Captain Jones stayed under snipers' fire until about 3 P. M. and when no answer to his request came from the Major, he went "over the top" again and retraced the same 500 metres. Heavy machine gun and rifle fire again greeted him. He took refuge in nearby trenches, but his men began to drift away in confusion. All this time the Major was in the rear. On September 28, however, Major Elser was relieved of the command of the battalion and entered the hospital for "psycho-neurosis," or "shell-shock,"—a phrase which often covers a multitude of sins. Later he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel and transferred to a Labor Battalion.

Meantime, on September 27, at 4:30 P. M., the Third Battalion of the 368th Infantry moved forward. It was commanded by Major B. F. Norris, a white New York lawyer, a graduate of Plattsburg, and until this battle a Headquarters Captain with no experience on the line. Three companies of the battalion advanced two and one-half kilometres and about 6:30 P. M. were fired on by enemy machine guns. The Major, who was in support with one company and a platoon of machine guns, ordered the machine guns to trenches seventy-five yards in the rear. The Major's orders were confusing and the company as well as the platoon retreated to the trenches, leaving the firing-line unsupported. Subjected to heavy artillery, grenade, machine gun and rifle fire during the whole night of September 27 and being without artillery support or grenades, the firing line broke and the men took refuge in the trench with the Major, where all spent a terrible night under rain and bombardment. Next morning, September 28, at 7:30 A. M., the firing-line was restored and an advance ordered. The men led by their colored officers responded. They swept forward two and one-half kilometres and advanced beyond both French and Americans on the left and right. Their field officers failed to keep liaison with the French and American white units and even lost track of their own Second Battalion, which was dribbling away in one of the front trenches. The advancing firing-line of the Third Battalion met a withering fire of trench mortars, seventy-sevens, machine guns, etc. It still had no artillery support and being too far in advance received the German fire front, flank and rear and this they endured five hours. The line broke at 12:30 and the men retreated to the support trench, where the Major was. He reprimanded the colored officers severely. They reported the intense artillery fire and their lack of equipment, their ignorance of objectives and their lack of maps for which they had asked. They were ordered to re-form and take up positions, which they did. Many contradictory orders passed to the Company Commanders during the day: to advance, to halt, to hold, to withdraw, to leave woods as quickly as possible. Finally, at 6:30 P. M., they were definitely ordered to advance. They advanced three kilometres and met exactly the same conditions as before,—heavy artillery fire on all sides. The Company Commanders were unable to hold all their men and the Colonel ordered the Major to withdraw his battalion from the line. Utter confusion resulted,—there were many casualties and many were gassed. Major Norris withdrew, leaving a pla-

toon under Lieutenant Dent on the line ignorant of the command to withdraw. They escaped finally unaided during the night.

The Chief of Staff said in his letter to Senator McKellar: "One of our majors commanding a battalion said: 'The men are rank cowards, there is no other words for it.'"

A colored officer writes:

"I was the only colored person present when this was uttered: It was on the 27th of last September in the second line trenches of Vienne Le Chateau in our attack in the Argonne and was uttered by Major B. F. Norris, commanding the 3rd Battalion. Major Norris, himself, was probably the biggest coward because he left his Battalion out in the front lines and came back to the Colonel's dugout a nervous wreck. I was there in a bunk alongside of the wall and this major came and laid down beside me and he moaned and groaned so terribly all night that I couldn't hardly close my eyes—he jumped and twisted worse than anything I have ever seen in my life. He was a rank coward himself and left his unit on some trifling pretext and remained back all night."

From September 26-29 the First Battalion of the 368th Infantry, under Major J. N. Merrill, was in the front-line French trenches. On the night of September 28 it prepared to advance, but after being kept standing under shell-fire for two hours it was ordered back to the trenches. A patrol was sent out to locate the Third Battalion, but being refused maps by the Colonel it was a long time on the quest and before it returned the First Battalion was ordered to advance, on the morning of September 29. By 1:00 P. M. they had advanced one mile when they were halted to find Major Merrill. Finally Major Merrill was located after two hours' search. A French Lieutenant guided them to positions in an old German trench. The Major ordered them forward 600 yards to other deserted German trenches. Terrific shell-fire met them here, and there were many casualties. They stayed in the trench during the night of September 29 and at noon on September 30 were ordered to advance. They advanced three kilometres through the woods, through shell and machine gun fire and artillery barrage. They dug in and stayed all night under fire. On October 1 the French Artillery came up and put over a barrage. Unfortunately, it fell short and the battalion was caught between the German and French barrages and compelled hastily to withdraw.

The regiment was soon after relieved by a French unit and taken by train to the Marbache sector. Major Elser, of the Second Battalion, made no charges against his colored officers and verbally assumed responsibility for the failure of his battalion. There was for a time strong talk of a court martial for him. Major Merrill made no charges; but Major Norris on account of the two breaks in the line of the Third Battalion on September 28 ordered five of his colored line officers court-martialed for cowardice and abandonment of positions—a Captain, two First Lieutenants and a Second Lieutenant were accused. Only one case,—that of the Second Lieutenant, had been decided at this writing. He was found guilty by the court-martial, but on review of his case by General Headquarters he was acquitted and restored to his command.

Colonel Greer in the letter to Senator McKellar on December 6, writes as follows: "From there we went to the Argonne and in the offensive starting there on September 26, had one regiment in the line, attached to the 38th French Corps. They failed there in all their missions, laid down and sneaked to the rear, until they were withdrawn."

This is what Colonel Durand, the French General who was in command in this action, said in a French General Order: *"L'Honneur de la prise de Binarville doit revenir au 368th R. I. U. S."*

And this is what Colonel Greer himself issued in General Order No. 38, Headquarters 92nd Division, the same day he wrote his infamous letter to this senator: "The Division Commander desires to commend in order the meritorious conduct of Private Charles E. Boykin, Company C, 326th Field Signal Battalion. On the afternoon of September 26, 1918, while the 368th Infantry was in action in the Argonne forest the Regimental Commander moved forward to establish a P. C. and came upon a number of Germans who fled to the woods which were FOUND TO BE ALIVE WITH MACHINE GUNS. The Commanding Officer ordered the woods searched to the top of the hill, the officer in charge of the scouting (2nd Lieutenant C. W. Carpenter) called

for volunteers and Private Boykin, a telephone linesman, offered his services and set out with the rest of the detail. While trying to flank an enemy machine gun another opened fire killing him instantly."

This effort of the 368th Regiment was seized upon by Army gossip and widely heralded as a "failure" of Negro troops, and particularly of Negro officers. Yet the same sort of troops and many Negro officers in the Champagne and afterward in the Argonne under French leadership covered themselves with glory. The real failure in the initial Argonne drive was in American field strategy which was totally unequal to German methods and had to learn by bitter experience. It is worse than unfair to write off the first experience to the discredit of Negro troops and company officers who did all that was humanly possible under the circumstances.

OTHER UNITS

THE 365th, 366th and 367th Regiments did not enter the battle-line at all in the Argonne. The whole division after the withdrawal of the 368th Regiment was, beginning with September 29, transferred to the Metz sector, preparatory to the great drive on that fortress which was begun, rather needlessly, as the civilian would judge, on the day before the signing of the Armistice, November 10.

According to plan, the 56th white American Division was on the left, the 92nd Division was in the center and the French Army was on the right. The 367th Regiment led the advance and forged ahead of the flanking units, the entire First Battalion being awarded the *Croix de Guerre;*—but this time wise field direction held them back, and for the first time they were supported by their own Negro Field Artillery. Beside the four Infantry Regiments the 92nd Division had the usual other units.

The 325th Field Signal Battalion, attached to Division Headquarters, was composed of four companies organized at Camp Sherman. It had ten colored and twenty white officers. It was in France at Bourbonne-les-Bains and then went to the Vosges, where it was split into detachments and attached to regiments under the Chief Signal Officer. While at school at Gondricourt, July 13-August 18, it made one of the best records of any unit. Many of its men were cited for bravery.

The 167th Field Artillery Brigade consisted of two regiments of Light Artillery (75s) trained at Camp Dix (the 349th and 350th) and one regiment of Heavy Artillery (the 351st) trained at Camp Meade, which used 155 howitzers. They experienced extraordinary difficulties in training. There can be no doubt but that deliberate effort was made to send up for examination in artillery not the best, but the poorest equipped candidates. Difficulty was encountered in getting colored men with the requisite technical training transferred to the artillery service. If the Commanding Officer in this case had been as prejudiced as in the case of the engineer and other units, there would have been no Negro Artillery. But Colonel Moore, although a Southerner, insisted on being fair to his men. The brigade landed in Brest June 26 and was trained at Montmorillon (Vienne). They were favorites in the town and were received into the social life on terms of perfect equality. There were five colored company officers and eight medical officers. The officers were sent to school at La Cortine and the Colonel in charge of this French school said that the work of the colored artillery brigade was better at the end of two weeks than that of any other American unit that had attended the school. The brigade went into battle in the Metz drive and did its work without a hitch, despite the fact that it had no transport facilities for their guns and had to handle them largely by hand.

The 317th Ammunition Train, which was attached to Division Headquarters, but was under the artillery in battle, was organized at Camp Funston in December, and had 1,333 officers and men, divided into two battalions, one motor and one horse, with seven companies. There were thirty-three colored and three white officers. The battalion landed in France June 27 and went to Montmorillon, and to the Artillery Training School at La Cortine, with the 167th Field Artillery. It arrived at Marbache October 18 and took part in the Metz drive. It had charge, also, of the Corps Ammunition dumps. During the drive all the officers were colored and Major Dean was in command. General Sherbourne, one of the few Commanding Officers fair to Negro troops, warmly commended the work of the artillery. No general court martial took

place in the organization from the beginning and no efficiency boards sat. This was one of the very few units in which Negroes were promoted: four being made Captains, three First Lieutenants, eleven Second Lieutenants, and one a Major.

Near the close of the war thirty-five Lieutenants commissioned at Camp Taylor arrived in France and were sent to school near Nantes. They were subjected to many indignities by the American officers and were compelled to enter the class-room after the whites; they were refused leaves to town; reprimanded for conversing with the women of the city, who were anxious to be kind and sympathetic to the obviously oppressed strangers. Notwithstanding all this the men made good records and joined their command after the Armistice.

The 317th Engineers were assembled at Camp Sherman in December with 1,350 officers and men. There were two battalions and all the officers were colored, except four field officers. The Commanding Officers, however, were from the first determined to get rid of the Negroes. On May 10 the colored Captains were relieved, and sent to the 365th and 366th Regiments. The regiment came to France in June and was trained near Bourbonne-les Bains until July 20. On July 22 all the remaining colored officers, except two Lieutenants, the chaplain and the medical officers, were relieved at the repeated requests of Colonel Brown, of Georgia, and others. The regiment went to the Vosges in August, and then to the Argonne, doing excellent technical work in building and construction. All but one company were attached to the Fourth French Army Corps until December 22; only Company E remained with the 92nd Division.

The 366th Field Hospital was a colored unit with only two or three whites. It handled 10,000 cases before and during the Metz drive, four weeks, and was rated best in the American Expeditionary Force. Lieutenant Wright, the colored physician in charge, was promoted to a Captaincy.

The final engagement immediately preceding the signing of the Armistice was fought in the Marbache sector, south of Metz, and was the most important event in which all the units of the 92nd Division actively participated. The division entered this sector October 7 and established headquarters in the village of Marbache, October 10, 1918. The several regiments were stationed in the front lines of the Division sector, with supporting units and reserves in the rear. Almost immediately upon entering this sector active operations were begun; patrols and reconnoitering parties were sent out from our lines; raiding parties were active and both sides found it necessary to be constantly on the alert. As the time for the advance of the whole Second Army grew nearer heavy shelling became more frequent, patrolling more active and raiding parties bolder. It was necessary to obtain all possible information regarding the enemy's movements and intentions before the advance began. There were many thrilling experiences in this sector during the four weeks preceding the final struggle.

On the tenth day of November came the order announcing the great drive and outlining the position of the 92nd Division in the line.

At 7 A. M. on the eleventh, the artillery broke loose with a terrific bombardment; this preparation lasted for a period of 42 minutes and was delivered upon the village of Bois Frehaut and the neighboring woods through which the infantry was to pass in its advance. In the meantime, the boys in the several companies composing the first assault line sprang from their trenches and with grim determination pushed themselves into "No Man's Land" and into the woods in the direction of the great German fortification, the city of Metz. The first objective of the 365th Infantry was Bois Frehaut (woods) three miles in depth and two miles in width. Barbed wire entanglements were everywhere and German machine guns were sputtering and large cannon were sending forth their messengers of death in all directions. The 365th Machine Gun Company, the 37-M M Platoon and our artillery and infantrymen repulsed this murderous attack and after two hours of desperate fighting Bois Frehaut was taken by the 365th and held by the Second Battalion of that organization until the bugle sounded the call to cease firing at 11 o'clock on the following morning.

The attack was led by Company H under the command of Captain William W Green with a detachment of Company A commanded by Lieutenant Gus Mathews of

Chicago with Company G and two other units in support. In fighting through the dense woods, made more difficult by large volumes of smoke from bursting shells, the attacking line in Company H became thinned and before many of the men arrived after the Company merged from the woods a flanking movement was attempted by the German machine gunners, but the timely arrival of Company G under the command of Lieutenant Walter Lyons saved Company H from this added danger. During this attack the Machine Gun Company of the 365th was active in covering the advancing infantry and kept the enemy on the run, thus making it impossible for them to deliver an effective fire against the men in the assault waive. The second assault waive was under the command of Captain Walter R. Sanders who was, also, second in command of the Second Battalion of the 365th Infantry. The second waive, under heavy shell fire and gas bombs from the artillery, moved up to occupy the position first held by the Second Battalion. While making this advance Lieutenant Walter Lowe, commanding Company A, was gassed, but he remained with his company, directing its movements until a short time before the order came to cease firing on the morning of the eleventh.

While the 365th Infantry was fighting like real heroes the units in the other battalions were doing exactly the same thing. The first objective reached by the 366th was Bois-de-Boivotte. The units in the first assault waive moved over the top at exactly seven o'clock on the morning of November 10. The artillery laid down a barrage for the advancing troops and protected their advance as far as possible, but the terrific bombardment with gas, shrapnel and machine gun fire from the German trenches made progress difficult as well as extremely dangerous. The troops, accustomed as they were by this time to bursting shells and gas bombs, ignored all personal danger and fought their way to their first objective with but few casualties. The fighting was furious during the early part of the day, but the organization was able to capture and hold much ground, varying from three to five kilometers in depth.

The 367th Infantry occupied a position on the west side of the Mosselle River. Two companies of the Second Battalion were in the first assault waive with others in support and reserve. The fighting units reached and held their objective and although the fighting was brisk the 367th did not lose a single man. With the darkness came a cessation of intensive action, the troops were reorganized and plans formulated for a renewal of the attack early the next morning.

In this general engagement the 92nd Division occupied a position a little southeast of the strong fortifications of Metz. The 165th French Division was on our right and the Seventh American Division was on our left and we kept in touch with both these divisions during the night and prepared for what subsequently proved to be the final struggle of the great world war the following morning.

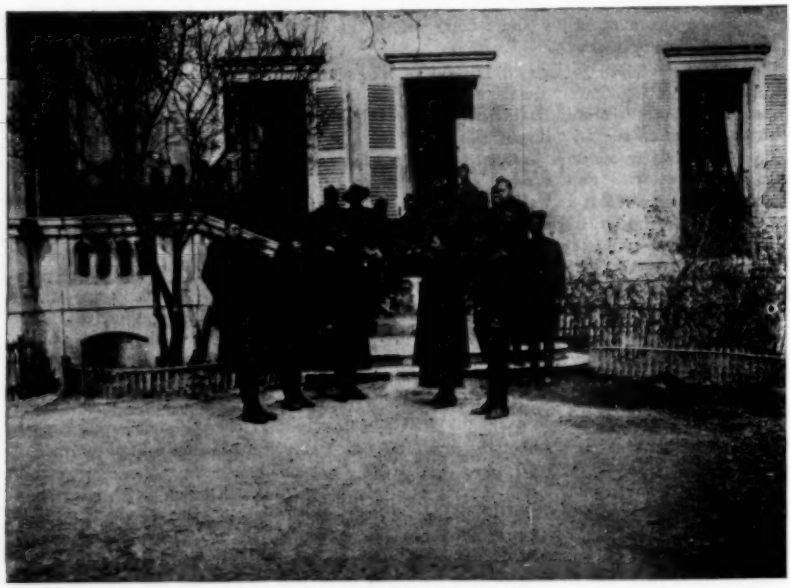
At dawn the air was cool and damp; it was slightly cloudy, with a little fog in the atmosphere, just enough to give it a dull-gray color and to prevent the soldiers from seeing more than a few hundred yards in the direction of the enemy.

The keen whistling noises made by the shells from our supporting artillery as they passed over our heads on their missions of death told us that the hour was 4:30 A. M., for at that time the 351st Field Artillery Regiment began its advance upon Bois La Cote and Champey. This fire was kept up continuously until 10:45. The 350th Field Artillery Regiment, also, renewed its attack upon the woods in the neighborhood of Bois Frehaut, but ceased firing at 10 o'clock A. M., forty-five minutes earlier than the 351st. At five o'clock the First Battalion of the 350th Field Artillery laid a rolling barrage across and just north of Bouxieres-sur-Froidmont in support of the advancing infantry. Many of the same units that engaged the enemy the day before were again struggling for additional gains in the direction of Metz. Several fresh companies were brought up from the support to join those who had so gallantly repulsed the enemy on Saturday and together made a supreme effort to deliver a blow that would silence the German guns and put the Huns to flight in disorder. The only thing that saved the Kaiser's army in this sector from a crushing defeat was the order to cease firing at 11 o'clock.

At one time during the morning engagement the 56th Infantry (white) of the 7th

Division, while advancing, ran into a strong barbed wire entanglement that had not been destroyed by artillery. Further advance was impossible and to retire under heavy fire from the German's big guns and merciless machine gun fire meant annihilation. Major Charles L. Appleton of the 367th Infantry, seeing the desperate situation into which the 56th Infantry had worked itself, manœuvered several platoons to a position where they could hit the Germans from the flank and cover the retirement of the 56th. This timely act on the part of Major Appleton probably saved the 56th from complete destruction.

When the bugle sounded the call to cease firing, Company H of the 365th Infantry held 800 yards of the battle-front, five kilometers of which was taken from the Germans under the heavy guns of Metz, and held against odds five to one under intense shell and machine gun fire.



MRS. HELEN CURTIS AND HER SOLDIERS, AT CHAMBERY, FRANCE

OTHER AGENCIES

SO much for the 92d Division. It never had a fighting chance until the last day of the war. It was a centre of intrigue from the beginning and its weak and vacillating General spent most of his time placating the Negro haters on his staff and among his field officers, who wished nothing so much as the failure of the division as a fighting unit. How different a story if Charles Young had been let to lead his own!

Of the assisting agencies the only one that paid any attention to Negro troops was the Young Men's Christian Association. The few who came to Red Cross hospitals were, with a few exceptions, not only "Jim-Crowed" but officers were put in wards with their men. The white Young Men's Christian Association secretaries usually refused to serve Negroes in any way. Very few colored secretaries were sent and an attempt was made at first to get rid of the best of these, on the ground that their beliefs on the manhood rights and human equality of Negroes were "seditious." Matters were greatly improved when a colored man was placed in general charge of

the colored work. He was never, however, furnished enough men and only three women for his vast field until after the Armistice.

On one subject the white Commanding Officers of all colored units showed more solicitude than on the organization and fighting efficiency of the troops,—that was the relations of the colored officers and men with the women of France. They began by officially stigmatizing the Negroes as rapists; they solemnly warned the troops in speeches and general orders not even to speak to women on the street; ordered the white military police to spy on the blacks and arrest them if they found them talking with French women. The white troops, taking their cue from all this senseless pother, spread tales and rumors among the peasants and villagers and sought to chastise Negroes and offending women. One officer, a high-minded gentleman, graduate and Phi Beta Kappa man of a leading American institution, was court-martialed for keeping company with a perfectly respectable girl of a family of standing in one of the towns where Negroes were quartered and while General Headquarters did not uphold the court-martial, it took occasion severely to reprimand the officer and remove him to a Labor Battalion.

The result of all this a-do was simply unnecessary bitterness among Negroes and mystification among the French. The Negroes resented being publicly stigmatized by their own countrymen as unfit for association with decent people but the French men and women much preferred the courtesy and bonhomie of the Negroes to the impudence and swagger of many of the whites. In practically every French town where the Negro troops stayed they left close and sympathetic friends among men, women and children.

While the 92nd Division was in France there were fourteen trials for attacks on women, six of which were acquitted; of the other eight, three men were convicted of simple assault, leaving five possible cases of grave crime against women; of these, three cases are still undecided at this writing, one has been acquitted by the court, but the verdict has not been reviewed, and ONE man has been found guilty and hanged. It is only fair to add that this man belonged to a Labor Battalion and was sent to the division simply for trial. No other American division in France has a better record in this respect.

THE END

THIS is a partial and preliminary statement of the part the Negro played in the Great War. There is much in the tale that is missing and some mistakes, to be corrected by fuller information and reference to documents. But the main outlines are clear.

A nation with a great disease set out to rescue civilization; it took the disease with it in virulent form and that disease of race-hatred and prejudice hampered its actions and discredited its finest professions.

No adequate excuse for America's actions can be offered: Grant that many of the dismissed and transferred colored officers were incompetent, there is no possible excuse for the persistent and studied harrowing of admittedly competent men, to which every black officer testifies with a bitterness unexampled in Negro American history; there was no excuse for the persistent refusal to promote Negroes, despite their records testified to even by the French; there was no excuse for systematically refusing Negro officers and soldiers a chance to see something of greater and more beautiful France by curtailing their leaves and quartering them in the back districts.

On the other hand, there is not a black soldier but who is glad he went,—glad to fight for France, the only real white Democracy; glad to have a new, clear vision of the real, inner spirit of American prejudice. The day of camouflage is past.

This history will be enlarged and expanded, embellished with maps and pictures and with the aid of an editorial board, consisting of the leading Negro American scholars and the most distinguished of the black soldiers who fought in France, will be issued by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and THE CRISIS, in three volumes, in honor of the first great struggle of the modern Negro race for liberty.

National · Association · for · the · ... Advancement · of · Colored · People.

The Tenth Anniversary Conference

THE PLACE

CLEVELAND, OHIO, has been chosen as the place for holding the Conference that marks the Tenth Anniversary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Cleveland is one of America's most beautiful cities—with broad, spacious streets, handsome buildings, and a Great Lake to temper the summer heat and to afford delightful excursions. Niagara Falls is distant only a few hours' journey, so that visitors will have this added inducement to make the effort to celebrate our coming of ten years of age. Moreover it is a most hospitable town. We have been officially invited by the Mayor of Cleveland and by its Chamber of Commerce; and the Cleveland Branch, headed by Mr. F. E. Young, President; Mr. S. P. Keeble, Secretary, and Mr. Harry E. Davis, Chairman of the Conference Committee, will do everything in its power to make our stay a pleasant and profitable one. All we can ask is that the heavens may remain as unclouded as we believe our comradely coming together will prove to be.

THE TIME

June 21-29 has been chosen as the time for the Conference. June 21, Saturday, will be the day for registration, for the assignment of places of residence. The Conference will open Sunday afternoon with a Mass Meeting in St. John's A. M. E. Church. It will continue through the week, closing on Saturday evening with another Mass meeting on the subject of Anti-Lynching.

MEMBERS AND DELEGATES

Every branch is entitled to three delegates. Additional delegates are allowed for each branch having more than one thousand members, at the rate of one for every five hundred members. All members of the N. A. A. C. P. in regular standing are also entitled to become members of the Conference, and will receive full privileges. All visitors are cordially welcome to the sessions.

A registration fee of fifty cents will be charged. This entitles the member to a badge, to the official program and the right to attend all meetings and entertainments. It will also entitle him to the July *Branch Bulletin*, which will be given over to an account of the Conference.

It is hoped that delegates and visitors will arrive on Saturday, June 21, and will register on that day and be assigned their places of residence.

The Conference will begin Sunday, June 22, at three P. M., with a mass meeting at St. John's A. M. E. Church. The Mayor will open the meeting, and it is expected that one of Ohio's most prominent speakers will make an address. Mr. Moorfield Storey will preside.

The day sessions of the Conference will be held in St. John's A. M. E. Church. They will begin at ten and will continue until twelve-thirty, to be resumed at two and to last until four, except those afternoons when some other plans are made for the Conference's guests. A luncheon will be served in the church or in the immediate vicinity that friends may meet one another for that social good time that is so delightful a part of all such gatherings. The program as thus far mapped out is tentative, and few names of speakers can be given since some of the men and women whom we most want and need to hear we are not as yet sure of. But we can promise our members that each subject under discussion will be treated by those especially qualified to utter their opinions and to relate their facts. The evening sessions will be held in different auditoriums and will be widely advertised.

THE PROGRAM

The program will cover the following subjects:

THE NEGRO'S PART IN THE WAR

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Major Spingarn will speak. Colonel Young has been asked to preside.

THE NEGRO AND THE VOTE

The Civil Rights bills of Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania and other states will be discussed. Congressman Henry I. Emerson will speak on the ballot, and invitations have gone to a colored representative of the Legislature of West Virginia, and of the Legislature of Illinois. The representative from the Atlanta Branch will tell us of their members' recent use of their ballot.

EDUCATION

Under this subject will be considered the apportionment of funds for education in the South, and improvements in Public School facilities. We hope for a representative from Louisiana who will tell us of the bettering of conditions in that state, and from Charleston to recite the winning of the colored teacher's right to a place in the schools. The college Negro, the advance in education of the Talented Tenth, will be discussed.

This subject, with social welfare work, will be continued in the evening when the meeting will be under the auspices of the Social Welfare Federation of Cleveland with its president, Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, in the chair.

THE NEGRO AND LABOR

This will occupy all of one day and evening. Among the topics discussed will be:

The Migration to the North.

Scarcity of Southern Labor and Its Effects upon the Status of the Negro Laborer.

The Situation in the Rural Districts.

The Negro in War Industries, with reports from those Branches that have made studies on this question.

The Negro in Government Positions.

The Negro Bureau of the Department of Labor.

It is expected that the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland will co-operate with the Conference on this subject.

PUBLICITY

Charles W. Chesnutt will preside.

The Editor of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* has been invited to speak.

Dr. DuBois will tell of THE CRISIS; the N. A. A. C. P. will report on its publicity. It is hoped many representatives of the colored press will be present.

BRANCH AFFAIRS

All of one day will be devoted to Branch matters,—Finance, Membership, State Organizations, Representation by Districts,—many matters of importance that we are all desirous of threshing out.

THE SPINGARN MEDAL

The Spingarn Medal will be awarded on one of the evenings.

BRANCH REPORTS

The N. A. A. C. P. expects to have a large representation from its Branches and to give them a considerable part on its program. It plans, however, to have its delegates file their formal reports—of number of members, number of meetings, etc., with the Branch Director, and to speak at the conference along the line of the special subject under discussion. Only in this way can we have adequate treatment of the many topics laid out in our program. From the rural sections and from the cities will come that knowledge of conditions that we all seek, and that story of the fight to remedy them that will send us away with renewed courage.

OTHER WAYS OF PROPAGANDA

Besides these meetings of the Conference the Chairman of the Conference Committee has arranged to have our speakers give their message before many of Cleveland's prominent churches and organizations. Had it been earlier in the season, he would have been able to do more. As it is, he is now assured of pulpits for Sunday morning services, one a Jewish Temple. The Chamber of Commerce, the City Club, and the Board of Governors of the Woman's Suffrage Party will listen to our representatives. It is his opinion that the way best to reach the white people is to get before their organizations and he means to take advantage of the influx to the city of this rare number of talented speakers to see that this is done.

THE ATLANTA NEGRO VOTE

AMONG, the many interesting accomplishments of our Branches this year, none is more significant than the Registration drive at Atlanta, Ga., and the resulting vote. Many intelligent, monied, colored men of Atlanta, finding that by means of the "educational test" clause, the "ownership of property" clause, above all by the "white primary" they were disqualified as voters, while white illiterates were able to register and vote, had failed to make any effort to register their will at the polls. But after the visit of Mr. Shillady and Mr. Johnson to Atlanta, in January, the N. A. A. C. P. Branch became very active, increased its membership by March to 1,700, and launched a Registration drive. Prior to February 12, the Negroes had but 600 names on the Tax Collector's books. Within a month, more than a thousand names were registered, many people paying as much as fifteen, twenty and even twenty-five dollars in back taxes. The Branch succeeded in interesting the most prominent representatives from each religious denomination, the editors of the colored papers and the heads of fraternal organizations. One of the daily papers called attention to the heavy registration while it was in progress and said that it was *for* the bonds. The Branch, however, made no declaration until the night before the election when, in Bethel Church, packed to the doors, the people voted unanimously to go to the polls and vote *against* the bonds and against the extra taxation, thus serving notice upon the white people that after this they must reckon with the Negro when they are dealing with municipal affairs.

Election day was an exciting time. By noon the white people saw how things were going and an S. O. S. message went out from the City Hall all over the town to save the city from the menace of the Negro vote. Plants were asked to shut down and send their workers to the polls to vote against the Negro, and colored school teachers were instructed to go home and tell the Negroes to vote to increase their teachers' salaries. Nevertheless, when the count came, the bond issue was defeated and the white papers knew that it was done by the Negro vote.

Of course, the cry went up that the Negroes had been used by white men. As *The Georgian* put it, "The Negroes—stupidly in the light of their own real interests, but led by shrewd white men ready to use them to the limit,—voted solidly against everything." And again, "The tax restoration measure was overwhelmed by a combination of two extreme votes—the ignorant and stupid votes of the Negroes, on the one hand, and the votes of the wealthiest element, on the other." The following memorial, presented by the N. A. A. C. P. Branch to the Mayor, the Finance Committee and the Board of Education of Atlanta, shows that the Negroes were the most intelligent voters of all Atlanta's citizens. We give the memorial in its entirety:

April 3, 1919.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding of the position of Colored Citizens at this time in any matter that affects the growth and progress of the City of Atlanta, the Atlanta Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People makes this statement to the city officials and the city at large.

We submit that no outside influence, either corporate or individual, was in any measure responsible for the solidarity of the Negro vote in the last election. It is untrue that white men visited Negro churches, except maybe some small and unheard of ones, and urged Negroes to vote as they did. We deny the statement that the Georgia Railway & Power Company had any influence with the Negro voters or even attempted to exercise it through any channels known to us. Colored men themselves are responsible for their own actions, which resulted from decisions arrived at after full, frank, and free discussions among themselves and with themselves.

We set ourselves up as no preferred class. We ask no special favors and want no exceptions made for us. We regret the necessity that compels us to assume any other attitude than that of a satisfied part of our composite citizenship. For the conditions which exist we plead "Not Guilty" and we feel that the white people of the South are responsible for whatever unrest and dissatisfaction may exist in our ranks.

In particular, the Negroes of Atlanta have certain definite and long-standing grievances and complaints which we feel should no longer exist and which we believe it is time to make known.

(1) For years the Public Schools of this City as they relate to our children have been a disgrace to any progressive community. Not only are the number of schools inadequate, but the physical condition of those in existence is worse than deplorable and constitutes a menace to the health and morals of our children, which

in turn menaces the health and morals of the entire city.

(2) We want every double session in the Public Schools abolished and a seat to each child entitled to one therein, a full day of instruction given instead of the half-day which is now prevalent in Negro schools. And the instruction should be carried through the eighth grade instead of stopping short at the seventh grade, as exists now.

(3) We believe that a laborer is worthy of his hire and that a teacher who is competent and capable is deserving of a living wage instead of the starvation pittance which the City metes out to its colored teachers. A teacher in a white school should receive salary in keeping with the work done, and the same grade of work in a colored school should receive the same grade of pay regardless of whether the teacher is white or black.

(4) We are entitled to and we should receive at the hands of the City, High School facilities for our children. For many years Negroes have been deprived of their just rights by being denied facilities which are provided for all others except our people. And in this we mean no sham and no make-believe, but such High School facilities for every colored child as will fit him and her to follow a useful calling in life, or as will fit them for even higher and more complete training.

(5) The colored children of this City are entitled to and should have the same advantages of playgrounds and swimming-pools as all other children of this City. When such forms of recreation are denied to our children and are provided at the public expense for other children, our taxes are already increased and it is being done over our protest and without our consent.

(6) For years we have been occasionally promised and continually denied Library facilities, notwithstanding a building has been repeatedly offered by Mr. Carnegie if the City would only furnish the lot and maintain the Library. In the meantime, branch Libraries have been established for white people in various parts of the City and a magnificent library is maintained.

(7) The chief asset of any community is the health of its people. There is a woeful lack of hospital facilities in this City for both races. Such facilities as do exist are hopelessly inadequate and inefficient, and this is true in a greater degree as it pertains to colored people. The exclusion of colored physicians from the City Hospital is not only unjust and unfair, but it works a very great hardship on our people and is against the best health of this community. When a colored patient enters the City Hospital, his regular physician must be left behind and he must secure attention from a physician certainly less interested and sometimes less skilled. This ban ought to be lifted and colored physicians should be permitted to follow their patients into the City Hospital.

(8) In colored sections of the City there is a woeful neglect of streets and sewers and sanitation, while certain sections are repaved and repaired, and the streets of white sections are improved, yet year after year little attention is given those sections where our people live. In most cases the streets are inadequately lighted, tending to make travel unsafe and offering inducement for crime. Garbage is infrequently removed and it is only providential that we have suffered no great epidemic or outbreak of disease.

These things which we desire are not immoderate. They are not unjust. They are not unfair. They are ours, every one of them, and we are entitled to them because we are citizens as all other men are. When war was imminent and the peace of this nation was assailed, our young men gave their blood and their lives, that democracy might not perish from the face of the earth. We were not excepted then. When we were called, we went willingly and we served. Now that peace has returned we feel that our citizenship has not ended, but that the obligations of peace are as strong as those of war.

The specific ends to which additional taxes are to be employed have not been made clear. If we are to support increased taxation and bond issues, we desire to know, as every citizen has the right to know, just why such necessity exists and to what end such steps are taken. We feel that the things for which we ask are just as urgent and just as necessary as are other things included in the proposed bond issue. We, too, believe in bonds, but when they are issued, they should carry specific and unalterable provisions for a division of the funds so that the colored schools will be amply taken care of.

The Negro wishes to move forward and not backward. We are willing to pay for these things. But when we increase our taxes for the purpose of getting what we want, we want to understand exactly *all* the terms of the bargain.

And we are right.

* * * * * *

In the meantime, the Atlanta Branch, on May 1, numbered 2,020 and it intends to have 5,000 members to announce at the Cleveland Conference. We give the names of the Executive Committee, adding that the women did much of the hard and exacting work, making the Registration campaign and the drive for N. A. A. C. P. members a success. The colored people of Atlanta are united as never before in their battle for their rights as citizens.

Vice-President, T. K. GIBSON,
Secretary, DR. L. C. CROGMAN,
Treasurer, MISS CORA B. FINLEY.
Executive Committee
H. H. Pace, Rev. J. A. Hopkins, Prof. G. A. Towns, J. W. Dobbs, Dr. L. B. Palmer, C. R. Williams, Rev. R. H. Singleton, Mrs. Ludy Andrews, Mrs. C. B. Pittman.

THE ANTI-LYNCHING CONFERENCE

THE Conference was opened on Monday night, May 6, with a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall, at which the speakers were Brigadier-General John H. Sherburne who commanded the 167th Field Artillery of the 92nd Division; ex-Governor Emmet O'Neal, of Alabama; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, former Justice of the United States Supreme Court; and James Weldon Johnson, Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"We have come here," said Mr. Hughes, "to do our utmost to create public sentiment in support of the most important duty of the citizens of the United States; and that duty is to enforce the guarantees of the Federal Constitution. In any community where the courts are open and the processes of justice are available, lynching is murder of the foulest sort."

Continuing with a warning that mob violence was the path to sure destruction for a nation and its institutions, Mr. Hughes said:

"Today in the City of New York our security is simply in the sentiment of law and order—and nothing else. And you cannot dethrone justice in the South and let lynching go unpunished there and expect to be secure in this great metropolis of New York."

Of the international aspects of lynching in the United States, Mr. Hughes said:

"Very little can be done in the cause of international justice unless nations make every effort, and successfully prosecute the endeavor, to establish strong and secure the foundations of justice within their own borders. We can never properly appear as the exemplar of justice to the world as long as the black man because he is a black man, is denied justice within the United States."

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw said that "when Mr. Hughes declared 'that this crime of lynching is a crime perpetrated against the colored race,'—that is the only point on which I would take issue with Mr. Hughes. That crime is not against the colored race. The crime is against the race that perpetrates the crime. I have no sympathy, and I would never waste a tear or any amount of suffering endured by any man, white or black, who perpetrates that criminal offense against womanhood. But when a body of men are not aroused by the horror of the crime—for I have no doubt that if the Master were here writing upon the sand, He would say, 'Let him who has never committed the offense cast the first stone.'"

Mr. William Pickens insisted that "it is futile to deny the Negro the rights guaranteed him by the Constitution, to treat him as an inferior being, and then expect a mob to accord him equal treatment with that given other citizens.

"If the black man were justified and supported by the law when he clearly and plainly acts in self-defense," said Mr. Pickens, "the colored man himself would break up about one-half of the mob violence in this country."

A fund of $9,300 was pledged, of which the chief donors were two colored persons—Mme. C. J. Walker $5,000 and Scott Bond $1,000. This places a total fund of nearly $14,000 in the hands of the N. A. A. C. P.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Conference:

Resolved: That in the opinion of the National Conference on Lynching an attempt should be made to secure Federal legislation against lynching; that the matter of the appointment of the committee for this purpose be left with the Chair; and that the committee have power to add to itself.

Resolved: That the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People be requested to take steps to organize in each state a committee for the purpose of agitating and creating public opinion and taking the necessary steps to secure legislation against the practice of lynching.

Resolved: That the Committee (The Anti-Lynching Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) be urged, in addition to the argument, agitation and publication already begun, to appeal for systematic contributions to open and to carry on an advertising campaign against lynching to awaken the national conscience and lead to the enforcement of the law.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON in his "Fifty Years and Other Poems":

That Banner which is now the type
  Of Victory on field and flood—
Remember its first crimson stripe
  Was dyed by Attucks' willing blood.

And never yet has come the cry—
  When this fair flag has been assailed—
For men to do, for men to die,
  That have we faltered or have failed.

We've helped to bear it, rent and torn,
  Through many a hot-breath'd battle breeze;
Held in our hands, it has been borne
  And planted far across the seas.

Then should we speak but servile words,
  Or shall we hang our heads in shame?
Stand back of new-come foreign hordes,
  And fear our heritage to claim?

No! stand erect and without fear,
  And for our foes let this suffice—
We've bought a rightful sonship here,
  And we have more than paid the price.

* * * *

Mary Burrill has a one-act play of Negro life in the April *Liberator*. Willis Richardson says of Miss Burrill's work:

"Aftermath" is a one-act play of Negro life, by Mary Burrill, appearing in the *Liberator* for April. Here at last is the pleasant beginning of a thing that we have long waited for—the beginning of Negro plays by Negro playwrights. It is not only pleasant because it is a Negro play, but in it we have a nice piece of pure dramatic writing, which is another one of the numerous proofs that the Negro is fundamentally artistic; and it makes one wonder what field he will enter next.

The play is replete, with two of the most important qualities that make good drama —interest and logic. Without these two qualities all plays are uselessly written, without service and, therefore, necessarily bad. Here Miss Burrill has produced an atmosphere that only a colored writer could produce and her play will rank well with the three Negro plays of Ridgely Torrence.

THE CRISIS regrets that lack of space makes it impossible to quote one or two of the striking passages of this play and hopes that Miss Burrill will not confine her very real ability to this single expression.

COLORED WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

"A NEW Day for the Colored Woman Worker" is the name of a pamphlet issued by a group of women of which Miss Nellie Swartz, representing the Consumers' League, is chairman. This little monograph deals with the industries in which colored women are found in New York City. The Philadelphia, Pa., *Public Ledger* says:

It is pointed out in this suggestive little pamphlet, to which the New York *Evening Post* on Friday last devoted an editorial a column long, that it is not strange if the colored woman has been backward in demonstrating her value in the indoor labor of factories.

After a race has been enslaved for two centuries and then industrially boycotted for fifty years, is it reasonable to expect that it will speedily make good at the workbench with those who have had no such handicaps?

When one speaks up for "these now voiceless and defenseless women in industry," one is likely to be told with a pitying look: "You don't know what you're talking about. Colored women in domestic service nowadays expect just as big wages as white girls, and there's no limit to their insolence or their inefficiency."

Or else one is likely to incur some such mild rebuke as this:

"There is plenty of industrial discontent today without your going to work to stir up any more. If the colored woman isn't satisfied with the wages or the treatment she's getting, the remedy is at hand. All she has to do is to refuse to work and walk out. Heaven knows they're doing that all the time, anyway. There's no sense of loyalty to hold them. If white women get better pay, it's because they're worth better pay."

No doubt in the kitchen or in the factory the young, green, ignorant colored woman can be extremely exasperating and deplorably incompetent.

But—give them fair-play. Give them time to live down and work off the effects of the bondage in which our forefathers held them. Give them their chance to show what they can do.

In 60 per cent of the cases studied the worker came from an Atlantic coast state south of Washington.

Of 175 women, twenty-two had been graduated from northern high schools or southern colleges. When an equally large group of white women in the same industries was questioned, it was found that none had graduated from high school or college.

The cleanliness of the homes of the colored working women was a striking fact. "After a nine-hour day in the factory or store, clean floors and dusted rooms meant working late into the night.

"One would have to wait in an employment bureau for many days to hear of even one request for a colored bookkeeper or stenographer.

"Yet a number of women had been specially trained as stenographers.

"These finally entered factories, doing unskilled, monotonous work—their spirits broken and hopes blasted because they had been obliged to forfeit their training on account of race prejudice."

And is that fair-play?

One teacher from the West Indies was found dusting furniture in a department store at $8 a week.

"Just to think," she said, "I was principal of a school of 300 pupils for eight years, with five teachers under me, and all I can get in this country is maid's work."

The war changed things. "The colored woman," says this booklet, "made just as genuine a contribution to the cause of democracy as her white sister in the munitions factory or her brother in the trench. She released white women for more skilled work and she replaced colored men who went into service.

"The American people will have to go very far in its treatment of the colored industrial woman to square itself with that democratic ideal of which it made so much during the war."

* * * *

The Springfield, Mass., *Republican* gives an interesting digest:

The New York study concerned 2,185 workers in 217 factories, chiefly in the needle trades and the toy, buttons, candy, leather goods, marabou, paper boxes and bags, millinery and flowers and feathers industries. The typical worker was found to be a young, unmarried woman, probably southern born, with at least a grammar school education, who began work in her teens and was entering "industry" without trade training, or previous "industrial" experience after five or six years of domestic service. Most of the women were employed on the simpler and rougher processes and in most cases worked under less desirable conditions and for less pay than white women, even when doing the same work. Seventy-six per cent of the 2185 workers were paid from $8 to $12 a week—now regarded as below the necessary minimum—while a few received as little as $5 a week and a few as much as $20. Where white and Negro women worked together the Negroes generally fared better than when they were employed separately. It was not so easy to exploit them. On the other hand, they seemed to do better work when under the direction of bosses or inspectors of their own race. The number of Negro women who were members of trade unions was found to be very small—less than 1 per cent.

Those employers—and there were many exceptions—who admitted a decided preference for white workers, offered three principal objections to Negro workers—that they were slow, that they were unreliable and that it was difficult to get experienced ones. But these faults are obviously of social rather than racial significance. The Negro women have been accustomed to leisurely employment at long but indefinite hours and are untrained in factory work. They have been neglected by the trade unions and have been forced to take jobs which white workers have refused to take. Naturally, they have drifted from one job to another and gained comparatively little foothold anywhere. But these are remediable conditions. The committee's suggestions seem to get to the heart of the matter. They are that greater emphasis be placed upon the training of the colored girl by more general education and more trade training through apprenticeships and trade schools; that every effort be made to stimulate trade organization among colored women; that industrial leaders be developed among them; and that the colored woman be generally accepted in industry by the American employer and the public at large. Woman's place in industry and in citizenship is being steadily strengthened. The fact cuts across race lines. So does the justice that is involved.

THE SHIFTING BLACK BELT

THE Department of Labor has recently issued a report of its investigations on the migration of Negroes from the South in 1916 and 1917. The New York City *Hotel Gazette* summarizes:

Investigations of Negro migration to the North during the war, just issued by the Department of Labor, indicate that the total migration may have been as great as 350,000, extending over a period of about 18 months, during 1916 and 1917. That figure is fixed as the maximum limit, and 150,000 as the minimum limit, and the estimate of James H. Dillard, who had charge of the inquiry, is 200,000.

The movement had been under way for a long time before any effort was made to determine the number of Negroes moving North. Moreover, so many left separately and unobserved that complete statistics would have been impracticable. The investigator in Georgia estimates that between 35,000 and 45,000 Negroes left that state in 1916-17, and the number to leave Alabama during the same time is estimated at 75,000. State officials, however, made higher estimates, placing the number to leave Georgia at 50,000; Alabama, 90,000 and Mississippi 100,000.

Lack of labor in the North, due to the cessation of immigration, was the principal cause, the investigators agree. Among the causes operative in the South to induce

migration were general dissatisfaction with conditions, the ravages of the boll-weevil, floods, change of crop system, low wages, poor housing, poor schools unsatisfactory crop settlements, rough treatment, cruelty of the law officers, unfairness in court procedure, lynchings, desire to travel, labor agents, aid from Negroes in the North, and the influence of the Negro press.

The movement of large numbers at the same time was due largely to labor agents, but after these initial group movements, Negroes kept going North in small numbers, attracted by the letters from their friends who had already gone. Better wages were important. "Every Negro who made good in the North, started a new group on the way," one of the investigators reported.

* * * *

The New Orleans, La., *States* continues:

The investigators note, as a result of the migration and the need of labor in the South, promising movements to improve relations between the races. One of the best of these, intended to remove causes of the migration, is the "community congress" plan, put under way in Bolivar County, Miss., and which, it is expected, eventually will extend all over the South.

The feature of the Bolivar plan is a committee organization, including prominent white business men and agriculturists and prominent Negroes in each community. Committees are chosen from the main body to consider special subjects—for example, labor supply, and the general aim is to emphasize the common interest of the races in community development and in providing contact between racial leaders in ways designed to promote harmony, prosperity and good will.

The migratory movement was annoying, menacing, hurtful, while it lasted. But it had its good side.

Thousands of those who went North are coming back. They didn't find there what they expected and they are convinced that, while life in the South has some drawbacks, on the whole the Negro is better understood and treated here than he is on the other side of the line.

On the other hand, as a result of the temporary exodus, southern financial, business, industrial and agricultural interests have had their interest in the improvement of the conditions of labor and living of the colored population quickened. Not all the causes referred to by the Federal investigators as responsible for the migration can be immediately removed. But there is a growing disposition in the South to mitigate those which cannot be at once removed, and to do everything possible to promote the comfort and welfare of the industrious and law-abiding elements of the race.

* * * *

A good answer to the above comes from the pen of Robert T. Schell, who says in the Pittsburgh, Pa. *Gazette-Times:*

There was a gentleman in Pittsburgh this week, I saw in a Pittsburgh paper of March 7. His purpose, as stated, is to persuade thousands of Negroes who came from the South to go back. We came here to Pennsylvania by the thousands, two or more years ago, not simply to help make war munitions, but to better our condition in every way possible. The gentleman, though from Georgia, represents several Southern States short of labor in every line of service.

We are glad to know we are wanted there again. But before we even consider returning, we are reminded of the old tale of the "Fox and the Rabbit." The fox wanted the rabbit to go home with him. The rabbit decided to go, but had his doubts about it meaning any good for him. However, he went with the fox to the mouth of his den. He stopped and looked very carefully to see the tracks, and on finding all of them went in and none came out,—he stopped there. So, now, when you come for us to go back South, and not say one word to us about lynching us for any cause and without any sort of trial, we, like the rabbit, stop right there.

I am not in favor of crime, but I am in favor of crime committers having a fair and impartial trial by an unbiased judge and jury. We are up here and for the most part are making good. The people up here, like the people in the South, have found that we will work. If we don't like the work given us, we simply ask for a transfer to some other part of the works. We don't plan strikes or join in and take any part with strikers. We are here to do our bit with this people and to become a part of them and help to carry into success everything possible for all the people. Don't worry about us, for the most of us won't be back that way at all.

NEGRO OFFICERS

TOMPKINS McILRAINE says in the New York *Evening Post*:

Much is now being written and said in praise of the Negro officers. While not wishing to detract in any way from the praise and gratitude due to our Negro regiments, officers and men, in the interest of the military service and of the Negro himself, we must say that we are not yet satisfied by any reports that have come to our attention that Negroes led by Negro officers are fit to take their place against white troops in modern warfare.

That exceptional Negroes have done well as officers may be true, but we believe that it will be found that these are not Negroes, but chiefly mulattoes.

That an officer must be an educated and a highly mentally disciplined man, the present war has demonstrated. Witness the failure of the divisional officers' training camps for the training of men selected from the ranks. The necessary number of suitable candidates could not be obtained because a sufficient number of educated and

mentally disciplined men were not to be found in the ranks.

The pure-blooded Negro has not yet developed the capacity for the high degree of education and mental discipline necessary to the officer, and is not to be judged by the performance of exceptional individuals, chiefly mulattoes.

Thomas, in his "American Negro," points out that whether a man is fundamentally a Negro or a white man does not depend upon the color of his skin, but upon his mental characteristics. The mulatto may be as black as the ace of spades and have white mental characteristics. On the other hand, he may have white skin and thoroughly negroid characteristics.

That exceptional mulattoes might make good officers may be true, but that is not to say that Negroes in general are capable of being officers.

* * * *

Mr. McIlraine's remarks were inspired by the letter written to the Editor of the New York *Evening Post* by Colonel Charles Young. Colonel Young feels that the editorial entitled "The Negro Officer," published recently in *National Service With the International Military Digest*, was, to put it mildly, very unjust to Negro officers. He says:

The article entitled "The Negro Officer," which has been deemed by many officers both white and black to have been unfair, stated that the leadership of Negro troops by Negro officers was a failure, and that there was nothing to warrant the statement that Negro troops led by Negro officers could stand against white troops led by white officers.

The object of this reply is not to be controversial, but simply to state a few facts that the Editor has forgotten, some of which, perhaps, have not come to his knowledge.

* * * *

The Negro people of the United States demand to know whether the sweeping generalization of lack of leadership and the capacity of the Negro officer was derived by consultation of the records of the War Department, the press both white and Negro, and the reports of *impartial* officers.

The black officer feels that there was a prejudgment against him at the outset, and that nearly every move that has been made was for the purpose of bolstering up this prejudgment and discrediting him in the eyes of the world and the men whom he was to lead and will lead in the future.

Considering the contention in the article as to the mulatto's efficiency, the colored people of the United States are asking: "What is a Negro?" According to the editorial, any man that evinces leadership and capacity as an officer, be he white, yellow, brown or black as the ace of spades, is a mulatto. That being the case, and considering that nine-tenths of the Negro Americans are of mixed blood, the remaining portion are negligible, and the Negro problem is solved as pertaining only to the one-tenth.

Remembering the multitude of the *Croix de Guerre* and citations on the breasts of the returning Negro officers (for the Negro people for the purpose of achievement claim the mulattoes in their own racial group) and the Distinguished Service Crosses to boot, the Negro officer is smiling, not discouraged with himself, and is still carrying on for the flag the country where he was born, and where the bones of his fathers are buried, and for the uplift and leadership of his people for a more glorious Americanism.

History tells us that on the continent of America, Toussaint l'Ouverture, with a leadership that no man ever surpassed and who routed the best troops of Napoleon Bonaparte, was a pure Negro, and a slave until after fifty years old.

Major Martin R. Delaney was a pure Negro. "Fagan" and others that can be mentioned were pure Negroes.

Ex parte judgments will not go in the future history, for the black man will not only act his history, but he will write it, and be it said that he knows history methods, and that with him they are not those which come from the heat of prejudice and a direct and concerted attempt to discredit any group of American people.

Unpatriotic and unwarranted statements do no good and lull the country to sleep, and throw it off its guard, while the effects of these statements are causing just rankling in the breasts of the Negro people.

The Negro officers know the psychology of their own race and also of the white race; but it is to be feared the latter will never know the mind and motive forces of the Negro.

LITERACY TESTS IN THE ARMY

COLORED readers of THE CRISIS are especially urged to read the following article very carefully. The results of the psychological examinations in the Army have not been very widely disseminated as yet, but the charge has already begun to circulate that the Negroes as a group qualified much lower than white groups. No attempt has been made to point out the discrepancy, inevitably arising by contrasting dissimilar groups. Thus, if the Negro artisan were contrasted with the white artisan, the Negro farmer with the white farmer (even then the same district should be taken into account) and the Negro college graduate with the white college graduate, a very different proportion would have been found. This article which appears in the Springfield, Mass., *Union*, gives as fair an interpretation of the results of the Literacy Tests as has been given as yet.

Attention has been directed previously to the undesirable condition in respect to illiteracy manifest in connection with the draft examinations. The Department of the Interior, which is conducting a campaign in behalf of more liberal education policies, has obtained from the Surgeon General's Office more specific data on that subject, drawn from statistical reports from the various army training camps throughout the country. In the interest of psychological examinations, the men were classified in two groups, denominated as *Alpha* and *Beta*, the usual basis of separation being described as "ability to read and understand newspapers and write letters home," though at some of the camps a qualification of from four to six years' schooling was included. Twenty-eight stations were embraced by the statistics, and the percentage of men under the *Beta* head is found to range all the way from 13.5 to 41.8 per cent., and the general average for 1,552,256 men was 24.9 per cent. In some cases the extent of illiteracy was largely dependent on the proportion of Negroes, while in others there is but little relation between the two factors and the volume of illiteracy is largely or wholly among whites. For example, at Camp Lee only 8.8 per cent. of the men were Negroes and 28 per cent. were given *Beta* classification, and at Camps Cady and Humphreys there were no Negroes and the *Beta* percentages were respectively 18.4 and 14.

While these figures do not purport to give any exact measure of illiteracy in the National Army, they show clearly that the proportion of those lacking an ordinary common school education is altogether too large for the national welfare. In fact, the revelation is startling to those that have been accustomed to think that our educational advantages were of a high order and have failed to take account of the flaws in the system and the failure to reach effectually the great numbers of foreigners not yet Americanized in any respect.

The question of how to remedy this condition and so remove a national menace is one of the issues confronting the Sixty-Sixth Congress. One of the first steps to constructive reform, educational experts believe, lies in an increase of teachers' salaries. Along with this, and as a means of realizing that end, Federal aid is being urged in Congress, it being proposed to appropriate $100,000,000 annually for the reduction of illiteracy, and also to create a Federal Department of Education, whose authority is yet to be clearly defined.

THE "WORK OR FIGHT" EDICT

AN article by Walter F. White in the *New Republic* gives some interesting examples of the way the "Work or Fight" law construed in the South. In many places "work" meant labor *by* Negroes *for* whites. Mr. White says:

In a small town in Alabama, sixteen miles from Montgomery, the state capital, the mayor of the town had a colored cook. This cook one Saturday night asked her employer for a higher wage. The mayor refused, stating that he had never paid any more for a cook and wasn't going to do so now. The woman thereupon quit, and, as the law provided, the mayor took up her employment card which he himself had issued to her. The following morning a deputy sheriff appeared at her door and demanded that she show her work card. Despite her explanation of the reason why she had no card, she was arrested and on Monday morning was brought up for trial *in the Mayor's Court*, before the *mayor* himself. She was found guilty, and fined $14.00, which fine was paid by the Mayor, who then said to her, "Go on up to my house, work out the fine and stop your foolishness."

* * *

Some days later, the wife of a respectable colored man was sitting on her porch one afternoon paring potatoes for supper, waiting for her husband to come home from his work. An officer saw her, asked her if she was working, and on being told that her duties at home required all of her time and that her husband earned enough to allow her to stay at home, he arrested her for "vagrancy," taking her to the county jail. When her husband came home and was told of the arrest he immediately went to the jail to provide bail for his wife. This he could not do, as all of the officials had gone home. His wife was forced to remain in jail all night, and was released on bail the following morning. This case was dismissed when brought to trial.

* * *

In Bainbridge, Decatur County, Ga., in July, the City Council passed an ordinance forcing all women (which meant all *colored* women), whether married or not, whose duties were only those of their homes, to work at some particular job. An officer was sent to the homes of colored people who summoned the wives of a number of colored men to appear in court. There they were charged with vagrancy and fined $15.00 each and told that taking care of their homes was not enough work for them to be doing. On the following night an indignation meeting of the colored citizens was held and the city authorities were told that unless this unjust and discriminatory law was repealed, the colored people would resist "to the last drop of blood in their bodies." No further arrests were made.

No record could be found of any able-bodied white woman being molested.

The Outer Pocket

Baltimore, Md.

I AM especially pleased with the May issue, which is of such vital importance that every single colored person should have a copy, and I go so far as to say that THE CRISIS ought to be in the hands of every white man, especially in the South *where democracy is afraid to make itself visible.*

You are certainly to be congratulated upon the splendid work that you are doing.

J. FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

* * *

New York City.

Allow me to thank you for those brave and courageous utterances quoted in this morning's *World* that have called forth such a loud protest from regions infernal. Doubtless the uppermost thought of the American Negro—as was that of the white man—as they stood shoulder to shoulder in the trenches of France, was vengeance for the raped and outraged Belgian woman. But unless his experiences there have opened his eyes to the condition of the woman of his own race in his own land, and with this awakening the inspiration to give his life—if need be—as freely and as willingly for the Jim-Crowed, maligned, raped and outraged woman of his own race in his own land, then are those experiences on the battlefield of Europe of no avail.

DAVID B. FULTON.

* * *

Philadelphia, Pa.

Though late, a copy of the May CRISIS came to hand yesterday. It is the greatest number yet published, because in the letter by the French Mission, but instigated by the Americans, it shows clearly why our race is so victimized.

I would that it could be read in every church and congregating place for colored Americans, in order that our friends and relatives might know what forces other than those physical of the foe were arrayed against us.

Having served with a Field Hospital in the 92d Division from beginning to end, I am able to appreciate what a good work you are going to accomplish by visiting our Division and others abroad.

Continue your good work—all sensible and non-cringing Americans admire your attitude, and support you.

DEHAVEN HINKSON, M.D.

Chicago, Ill.

Have wired Postmaster General, as requested. Have passed telegram on to others. I cannot adequately express my disgusted resentment at such actions of postal authorities.

JUDGE EDWARD O. BROWN.

* * *

Ft. Monroe, Va.

When I read your amazing breach of international courtesy in printing while war is unsettled French army document, I thought you were beyond limit. Of course no one will expect our army to overlook such an attack on our respect for mutual obligations between associated nations.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY.

* * *

Omaha, Neb.

If pressure cannot be brought to bear sufficiently strong to have May CRISIS admitted to mail, reprint edition, and send by express to central points for distribution by hand. I shall gladly undertake personally to see to the delivery of copies to Omaha subscribers and, also, see that copies get into the hands of others.

REV. JOHN ALBERT WILLIAMS.

* * *

Xenia, Ohio.

I have read of the great cause you have been promoting and of the terrible exposures you have made relative to our treatment in France, and I congratulate you upon the most honest and upright position of defense you have taken for the thousands of black soldiers who fought in France. Even though THE CRISIS be suppressed in the mails of this government, your cause for justice is bound to win.

OSCAR W. PRICE.

* * *

Detroit, Mich.

Last evening the Rev. R. W. Bagnall, representative of the N. A. A. C. P. in this district, informed me that the postal authorities were holding up the May issue of THE CRISIS. On receiving this information, I at once telegraphed to Professor John R. Hawkins, Washington, D. C., Acting-Secretary of the Commission on After-War Problems of the A. M. E. Church, to interrogate Postmaster General Burleson as to the reason for holding THE CRISIS,

and if need be to file a protest in the name of the above mentioned Commission.

As a race, our problems seem to be multiplying and our situation growing more perplexing. Present conditions demand a co-ordination of efforts.

BISHOP C. S. SMITH.

* * *

New Haven, Conn.

I have just been informed that Postmaster General Burleson has ordered that no more CRISIS should be sent through the mails. I am so overwrought, I can hardly write. I just read this month's CRISIS and I see plainly why it is tabooed—the exposure of Wilson's tools. Well, it is so good this publication came out. I am not a member of the N. A. A. C. P.—I was until your slogan became "After the War," then I drew out. But I will tell you how much I believe in co-operation, whether I am a member or am convinced along all lines or not—I am willing if you send your magazine here next month by express to me with the addresses of all the New Haven subscribers, to deliver every one of them personally, if I have to walk for two or three days to do it.

NELLIE BENT.

* * *

Kansas City, Kan.

In answer to your telegram, we have had several send telegrams. Among them Congressman Little, who is a member of our branch.

We are on tip-toe with eagerness to see a copy. If it is released, it will be quite a boost for THE CRISIS and the N. A. A. C. P.

G. A. GREGG

* * *

Lorain, Ohio.

For the government to deny the CRISIS admission to the mails is to admit that "the pen is mightier than the sword," and that the pen of the insulted, unjustly treated American Negro is the one most feared of all.

For this reason, THE CRISIS is still more valuable, and as a token of faith I am enclosing my renewal to the year's subscription.

ROSA M. MILLER.

* * *

Augusta, Ga.

You can depend upon me to render every assistance in my power in getting out your proposed History of Colored soldiers, and if life lasts, in the sale of the book after it is published.

JUDSON W. LYONS.

* * *

Pittsburg, Pa.

I read the May, 1919, CRISIS last evening. Sad and sorrowful as were the disclosures therein, it pleased me beyond my ability to express. It shows that we had some one in France at the right time who had a heart to feel the wrongs planned and thoughtfully perpetrated upon us, as well as the ability and manhood to ferret them out and to fearlessly expose them.

P. J. CLYDE-RANDALL.

* * *

Fort Monroe, Va.

How can I help? Hold-up unjustifiable.

MOORFIELD STOREY

* * *

Richmond, Va.

Fight it out. We are with you.

ATTORNEY J. THOMAS HEWIN

* * *

Topeka, Kans.

Your telegram in regard to the holding up of the May issue of THE CRISIS was duly received. I cannot understand why this was done. I was glad to wire the Postmaster General last night, as you requested.

SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER.

* * *

Washington, D. C.

THE MAY CRISIS has in a very pronounced way made the world and especially these United States your lasting debtor.

The editorials have the old-time ring so familiar, illuminating and inspiring to all intelligent Crisis readers. "Returning Soldiers" alone is worth many times the magazine's weight in gold.

F. R. KILLINGWORTH

* * *

Detroit, Mich.

I have had the branches of my district to get the churches and clubs of their communities to wire the Postmaster General about THE CRISIS. Forty messages went from Detroit alone.

If you do not get a release by Monday and will send the Detroit supply by express, sending me the names of agents, their addresses, and the number of copies they should receive, I will see that they are distributed and receipted for.

REV. R. W. BAGNALL.

THE WAR

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OTIS B. DUNCAN, a Negro, has been commissioned a Colonel of Infantry in the Illinois National Guard, by Governor Lowden, to rank from March 18, 1919. He was a member of the 370th colored Infantry overseas and was awarded the *Croix de Guerre*, with a divisional citation for bravery.

¶ The Y. M. C. A. has sent eleven Negro women overseas as canteen workers with the Army of Occupation. They are Helen Hagan, Rilda Phelps, Florence L. Thomas, Meta Evans, Ernestine Suarez, Hattie Craigwell, Lillian W. Turner, Florence C. Williams, Harriet S. Edwards, Alethea E. Rochon and Laura G. Williamson.

¶ The South Carolina Legislature has passed a bill for the erection of a building on the campus of the A. and M. College, Orangeburg, as a memorial to the colored soldiers of that state, which when completed will cost at least $200,000. It will be the repository of books, manuscripts and other records of the war and in addition will include a library, rooms of the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A., lecture and recreation rooms. There is a unit of the R. O. T. C. at this college, under the authority of the War Department, with First Lieutenant S. A. Hull, Commanding Officer.

¶ The Motor Corps of colored women in New York City has been taken over by the Motor Corps of America and will be known as the Major Little Unit with Captain M. Watson Rudd. Mme. C. J. Walker is Chairman of the Executive Committee.

¶ Sergeant Bugler Charles Johnson, 367th Infantry, has returned to his elevator operating at the Yale and Towne Plant, Hartford, Conn., the possessor of the *Croix de Guerre*, with palm.

¶ Charles W. Schwab, the steel magnate, on board a United States transport loaned One Dollar each to 154 Negro soliders who were returning to America "flat broke," with the remark: "You needn't pay this back if you don't want to. Suit yourself." The loan has already been repaid by 138 of these men.

¶ Orders made public by General March, Chief of Staff, include: Seventh Division (Philippine Islands, Alaska and Mexican Border), unchanged except for additional Infantry Brigade attached. This is to be the 183rd Division, colored, and will be composed of the 24th and 25th Regular Regiments and the 350th Machine Gun Battalion of the 92nd Division.

¶ The Colored Protective Association has given a banquet at the Philadelphia Museum, whose use was given gratis, in honor of Negro heroes returned from overseas. A parade, headed by a detail of policemen of the Traffic Squad and the Colored Battalion of the Pennsylvania Reserve Militia, preceded the banquet. Covers were laid for 2,500,—over 10,000 persons gathered. Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr., is president of this organization.

¶ The United States Army is seeking the enlistment of colored soldiers for the Cavalry, for service in Hawaii, the Philippines, Panama and other sections that are yet to be determined. The men accepted for the colored cavalry are sent to Presidio, at San Francisco, for later transportation to the Orient. The foreign service pay is twenty per cent. greater than the base pay.

¶ The record of the Virginia Negro in the war is to be made an integral part of the war history to be prepared by a commission appointed by Governor Davis. Father Charles T. Hannigan, of Richmond, will direct the work of the Central Committee of Negro collaborators.

¶ A Certificate of Incorporation has been filed in the Recorder's of Deed Office, Washington, D. C., for the Grand Army of Americans, an organization of Negro soldiers. The incorporators are Captain Samuel F. Sewell of the Regular Army; Lieutenant D. W. Jones; Serena S. Ivy, Aid to the Provost Marshal General; Lieutenant Thomas H. R. Clarke of the Spanish American War, and William T. Ferguson.

MUSIC AND ART

SMALL, MAYNARD & COMPANY, Boston, Mass., announce the second printing of William Stanley Braithwaite's "Victory," and an English edition of Mr. Braithwaite's "Golden Treasury of Magazine Verse."

¶ Melville Charlton, a Negro musician of New York, conducted Verdi's Grand Opera Il Trovatore at the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria, during April, under the auspices of the Verdi Club. The vocalists were members of the Boston Grand Opera Company and the instrumentalists were from the New York Symphony Orchestra.

¶ The second annual Intercollegiate Benefit concert by the combined choral and orchestral forces of the six higher institutions for Negro education in Atlanta, Ga., was given this spring, the chief feature of which was Coleridge-Taylor's "Hiawatha's Wedding Feast." An audience of 6,000 persons greeted the chorus of 510 voices. John Wesley Work, of Fisk University, was the tenor soloist, and Kemper Harreld was the conductor.

¶ On April 27, at Baltimore, Md., a symphony orchestra was organized by Lieutenant A. Jack Thomas, former bandmaster of the 368th Infantry Band. Lieutenant Thomas is a graduate of the Institute of Musical Art of New York and is engaged in teaching at Baltimore.

¶ At Cambridge, Mass. on April 18, J. Shelton Pollen, organist and choirmaster, produced Du Bois' "The Seven Last Words of Christ" at St. Bartholomew's Church. The soloists were Miss Gertrude O'Neil, soprano; M. George Ruffin, tenor; William H. Richardson, baritone.

¶ Ella France-Jones, soprano, and Miss Eva B. Dykes, pianist, were heard in a concert on April 30 at Columbus Avenue A. M. E. Zion Church, Boston, Mass.

¶ Maud Cuney-Hare, pianist, and William H. Richardson, baritone, of Boston Mass., were heard in a joint concert on April 29 before a very large and appreciative audience at the Union Baptist Church Baltimore, Md. On May 1, Mrs. Hare and Mr. Richardson were presented at the Plainfield, N. J., High School Auditorium, for the benefit of the Good Samaritan and Orphanage, of New Jersey.

¶ Lyndon Hoffman Caldwell, a graduate in piano from Syracuse University School of Music, is presenting a finely arranged program on a present concert tour. His numbers include pieces by Bach-Tausig Rachmaninoff, McDowell, Chopin, Scriabine and Liszt.

¶ On April 23, a benefit concert for colored soldiers was held at Washington, Pa. The artists were Mrs. Florence Cole-Talbert, soprano; Mr. Clarence C. White, violinist; and Mr. T. Theodore Taylor, pianist. Mrs. L. C. Honesty was accompanist for Mrs. Talbert.

¶ A conference of Negro musicians was held in Washington, D. C., May 1-3, in connection with the annual music festival at Dunbar High School, for: the promotion of fellowship and fraternity, mutual encouragement, friendly rivalry and helpful criticism; discussion of methods for the systematic education of the public as to the broader significance and truer appreciation of Negro music; discussion of ways and means of stimulating creative effort by creating a demand for the works of Negro composers, and, of placing the music profession generally on a more profitable basis.

MEETINGS

A MEETING of twenty-three lodges of colored Masons, representing sixteen towns in West Virginia, held at Huntington, culminated in the organization of a state order to be known as the Most Worshipped Prince Hall Grand Lodge, A. F. & A. M.

¶ One thousand delegates were in attendance at the fifty-first annual session of the Louisiana Baptist Freedmen's Association, which recently convened in New Orleans.

¶ The Interstate Dental Association will meet July 9-11, at Bay Shore Hotel, Buckroe Beach, Va.

INDUSTRY

LOCAL 543 of the Chauffeurs' Union. Rochester, N. Y., has admitted Negroes to its membership.

¶ James Johnson a Negro alumnus of Brown University, employed as production clerk in the United States Armory, Springfield, Mass. has been for over a year a regular writer for the *Armory*, issued in the interest of the 7,000 employees.

¶ Gertrude Scott, a colored girl in New York City, has been appointed stenographer in the Board of Estimate. Miss Scott stood third on an eligible list of over five hundred applicants.

¶ Investigation of the deportation of Negro laborers from Coatsville, Pa., to the South has been ordered by the United States Department of Labor with Charles T. Fury, Commissioner of Conciliation, assigned to conduct the inquiry.

¶ In Mississippi, during last year, twenty-seven Negro agents organized 500 clubs, with 10,000 Negro women and 15,000 Negro girls as members. The women conserved 370,977 quarts of fruits and vegetables, and 15,000 chickens were raised in homes which formerly were without poultry. Each club maintained an all-year garden.

¶ Dr. Bradford Knapp, Chief of the Agricultural Extension Work in the South for the United States Department of Agriculture, announces the appointment of three Negro Field Representatives: Messrs. T. M. Campbell for Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Tennessee; T. B. Pierce for Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, North and South Carolina; and E. L. Blackshear, for Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas. This work is connected with the State Agricultural College and the Negro Land Grant Colleges.

¶ The Air Nitrates Corporation at Sheffield, Ala., has presented James A. Jackson, a colored man, with a gold medal and Certificate of Especial Merit for his sanitary work. Five silver medals were given at the same time to members of the crew under Mr. Jackson's direction. Mr. Jackson's medal is one of three given to colored men out of one hundred distributed among 29,000 officers and employees at this plant.

¶ The Young Women's Christian Association in three months has organized four clubs of Negro women in industry in Philadelphia, Pa., with 460 members.

EDUCATION

PROFESSOR J. A. MITCHELL, a teacher of English and French at Southern University, Scotlandville, La., conducts a Department of Negro Education in *Southern School Work* which supplies information of the schools for Negroes in Louisiana.

¶ The 1919 session of the South Carolina Legislature made a total appropriation of $83,709.62 for the A. and M. College at Orangeburg. Besides this sum the institution receives from the Federal Government a yearly appropriation of $42,250. The recent appropriation includes $25,000 for the erection of a modern hospital, which makes a total of five new buildings given this college in three years.

¶ The City Council at Dublin, Ga., has let the contract for the erection of a new Negro school building to be completed by the fall term, replacing the school that was burned over a year ago.

¶ Among appropriations of the General Education Board, founded by John D. Rockefeller, are Meharry Medical College, $150,000; Fisk University, $12,500; Lane College, $7,000; Manassas Industrial School, $2,000; Pennsylvania Normal & Industrial School, $6,000; Spelman Seminary, $5,000; St. Augustine School, $2,000; Virginia Normal & Industrial Institute, $500; Home Makers' Club Work in the South, $43,575; Summer Schools for Negro Teachers, $29,950.

¶ Meharry Medical College has, also, been given $150,000 by the Carnegie Foundation; connected with this appropriation is the condition that the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the trustees and friends of the college raise an additional $200,000 as an endowment. Two hundred and fifty graduates of Meharry served in the Medical Corps of the United States Army during the war.

¶ The State Department of Education at New Orleans, La., with the co-operation of the General Education Board and the Parish School Boards will operate thirty-five training schools for Negro teachers, beginning the early part of June and continuing twelve weeks, toward the end of additional teachers, longer terms, increased salaries and more adequate school buildings.

¶ The New Jersey Legislature appropriated to the Manual Training and Industrial School at Bordentown, N. J., for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1919, the sum of $130,105. This is the largest appropriation the school has ever received. Of this amount $58,800 was for permanent improvements and additions.

¶ Mr. A. E. Leslie, Principal of Johnson Academy, Orlando, Fla., has been granted patent rights for an educational device to facilitate the teaching of mathematics.

¶ The Laura Spelman Memorial Building, devoted to home economics, and the Bessie Strong Nurses' Home at Spelman Seminary, Atlanta, Ga., have been opened for service in honor of the wife and daughter, respectively, of John D. Rockefeller whose muni-

ficence has chiefly been the maintenance of this school.

¶ The third annual debating contest of the East Virginia Triangle has been held. Hampton and St. Paul were defeated by Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, which made the Institute triple victors. The question discussed was "Resolved, That the United States Government retain control of the chief railway lines" with the victors on the affirmative side.

POLITICS

AT Cass County, Mich., William Bradley, Frank Wilson and M. T. Hitis, Negroes, have been elected Justice of the Peace, Highway Commissioner and Supervisor, over white Democratic opponents.

¶ At the Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association when the recommendation that the Association continue to support and endorse the Federal Amendment which has been pending before Congress for forty years came up, Miss Laura M. Clay, from Kentucky, proposed that certain sections be amended with particular reference to those parts that would permit the enfranchisement of Negro women in the South. With three delegates voting "no" the convention voted to support the amendment in the original form, but authorized the Congressional Committee to formulate changes in the wording. This was said to be the first time in forty years that the amendment did not receive complete endorsement. A resolution was adopted providing for the centennial celebration of the birthday of Susan B. Anthony during February, 1920.

¶ In Chicago, Ill., Mayor William Hale Thompson, Republican, was re-elected by a plurality of 17,600 votes over his Democratic opponent. His plurality in the "black belt" was 11,402 votes.

¶ Isaac Nutter, a Negro of Atlantic County, Trenton, N. J., announces that he will be a candidate for Republican nomination to the Assembly this year. Mr. Nutter is a brother of Assemblyman Nutter, of the West Virginia Legislature.

THE CHURCH

THE Rev. J. M. Cornell, pastor of St. John's A. M. E. Zion Church, Bethlehem, Pa., has accepted honorary membership in the Chamber of Commerce. He is, also, a member of the local Executive Council of the Boy Scouts of America and of the Ministerial Association.

¶ The Presbyterian Church in the United States has appropriated $400,000 as a part of its New Era Program, for the education and welfare of Negroes. The June issue of the *New Era Magazine* will record the remarkable showing made by the Negro Presbyteries of the South in the church's New Era Victory Fund Campaign.

¶ Mother A. M. E. Zion Church, New York City, reports for the year March 11, 1918, to March 31, 1919: receipts, $42,854.10; expenses, $41,870.64, leaving a balance in the treasury of $983.46; liabilities, $39,034.76; assets, $134,000; budget of expenses 1919–20 annually, $18,060.06; monthly, $1,505; weekly, $376.25. The Rev. J. W. Brown is pastor of this church.

PERSONAL

THE Rev. William N. Morton, Pastor of Messiah Baptist Church, Bridgeport, Conn., is dead. He was born in Caroline County, Va., in 1865, and was a graduate of Wayland Seminary, Howard University and Virginia Union. He was a member of the Board of Managers of the Connecticut Baptist State Convention, an organization of white ministers.

¶ Jacob Bartley, a Negro 114 years old, is dead at Crystal Springs, Miss. He was the father of twenty-four children. At Ketona, Ala., Dan Lathan, a Negro 117 years old, is dead. A Negro woman aged 115 years, Marceline Brady, died recently in New Orleans, La., at the Lafon Old Folks' Home.

¶ Alfred I. Plato, for forty years a deacon of Talcott Street Congregational Church, Hartford, Conn., was presented a silver loving cup on his seventy-first birthday. Mr. Plato recently resigned the treasurership of this church, after twenty-five years' service.

¶ The medal "Awarded for Humanity" has been presented to Horace Tanner, a Negro of Roxbury, Mass., by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, for entangling a string high up in a tree, which released a struggling pigeon at the risk of his own life.

¶ Gurley Brewer, for more than fifteen years a widely known Negro Republican politician in Indianapolis, Ind., is dead at the age of fifty-three. In 1900 he was a Deputy State Historian and a few weeks before his death he had been made Deputy State Oil Inspector.

¶ Negroes in Detroit, Mich., on March 15, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Masonic life of James Francis Rickards.

¶ Second Lieutenant Norwood C. Fairfax, of Eaglerock, Va., attached to the 368th Infantry, on the completion of an Army course in the First Corps School at Gondricourt, France, was rated "excellent." He went "over the top" September 28 and made the supreme sacrifice.

¶ The following bequests have recently been made: The sum of $1 000 each to the Home for Aged Colored Women and the Home for Colored Children at Providence, R. I., by the will of Sarah E. Dyer; $1,000 each to the Colored Orphan Asylum Home for Aged Colored Women, Home for Colored Girls and the Colored Young Women's Christian Association, Cincinnati, Ohio, by the late Mrs. Bessie Laidlaw, wife of Robert Laidlaw who was at one time a member of the Board of Public Service; Norris Baer, late president of the Kaufmann & Baer Company, Pittsburgh, Fa., bequeaths $5,000 in trust to endow a scholarship, the income of the fund to be paid quarterly to the beneficiary, who is to be selected annually by the Rabbi of the Rodef Shalom Congregation. Any worthy young man, regardless of race, creed or color, may be appointed beneficiary of this scholarship. The late David Lubin, of New York, bequeaths $1,000 to start a fund for a National Academy of Music for Negroes; and Christopher L. Painter, of Pittsburgh, Pa., wills $7,500 to the Home for Colored Children at Lexington, Ky.

¶ Rev. and Mrs. Richard Randolph Ball, of Hartford, Conn., on March 28, celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of their marriage, with five sons in attendance. Their wedding took place at Chatham, Ontario. Rev. Ball has been pastor of the A. M. E. Zion Church in Hartford for seven years.

¶ James Reese Europe, Lieutenant of the 369th Regiment Band, whose fame as the leader of "jazz" music had become international, was killed in Boston, Mass., by a member of his band.

¶ George Bell, the giant Negro in the Chu-Chin Chow production, is dead. He was sixty-five years old.

¶ Joseph S. Cotter, Jr., the young Negro poet of Louisville, Ky., is dead at the age of twenty-three years. He had recently completed a book of thirty-five sonnets, "Out of the Shadows," for publication.

¶ Mary Church-Terrell has left the States as a representative at the International Congress of Women, to be held May 5, in Berne, Switzerland. She is the only Negro delegate. In 1904 Mrs. Terrell was a delegate to the International Congress of Women held in Berlin, where she addressed the convention in German and French speech.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

THROUGH the efforts of the Educational Club, Inc., of Jericho, N. J., there were elected to the Board of Education, David Dorsey, Biard Jones and Percy Clifton, all Negroes, against four white opponents. This organization, also, has effected the elimination of the color line at the bag-loading plant at Washington Park, and has as a member of its Executive Committee a Negro, George Dorsey.

¶ At Charleston, W. Va., the prohibition against the exhibition of the "Birth of a Nation" and similar pictures and plays during the period of the war, put into effect last summer by an order of the State Council of Defense, has been continued indefinitely by the Legislature through the passing of a measure drafted by Mr. H. J. Capehart, one of the three Negro members of the Lower House. This legislature, also, has created the office of State Supervisor of Colored Schools, with a salary of $2,400 per annum and $500 for traveling expenses; an Advisory Board to the State Board of Education to be composed of two Negroes, the compensation of each to be $1,000 a year and $500 for traveling expenses.

¶ Samuel Dett, a Negro at Niagara Falls, N. Y., has been granted a verdict of $392 against the Arcade Theatre Company, because he was denied the privilege of occupying seats which he had purchased for the lower floor. Attorney Charles E. Cromley represented the plaintiff.

¶ Negro physicians and dentists of Rome, Ga., have formed the North Georgia Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association. Dr. C. I. Cain is president.

¶ Dr. W. R. Brown a Negro at Salem, Va., has been appointed Assistant Board of Health Officer, with a salary, in the interest of health conditions of the colored people.

¶ The Texas Public Health Association has added to its field force a Negro lecturer, Mr. F. Rivers Barnswell, for service among Negroes.

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—Elbert Hubbard, in
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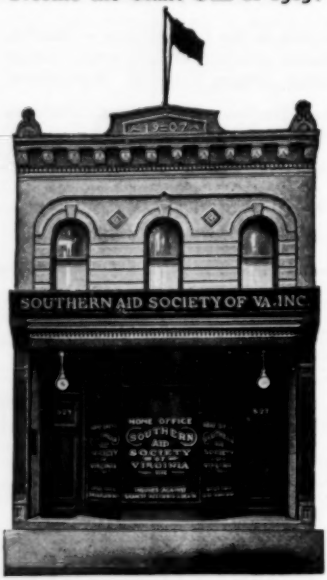
25th Annual Report (Condensed)

The Southern Aid Society of Va., Inc., was chartered at Richmond, Va., February, 1893, to engage in Industrial Sick Benefit Insurance, insuring against Sickness, Accident and Death. The following report of business done during 1918 will show that the Acorn of 1893 has become the Giant Oak of 1919:



Receipts	
Jan. 1, 1918 Cash Balance brought forward	$88,317.79
Dec. 31, 1918 Annual Income	548,835.64
Gross Receipts for 1918	$637,153.43
Disbursements	
Dec. 31, 1918 Total Disbursed, including investments made during the year	534,496.73
Cash Balance, Jan. 1, 1919	$102,656.70
Jan. 1, 1919 Total Assets	$348,536.95
Jan. 1, 1919 Total Liabilities including Capital Stock	48,676.57
Jan. 1, 1919, Surplus Fund	$299,860.38

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(Editorial)

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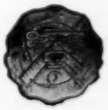

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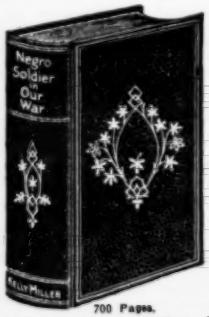

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